


Winter 2004

## The Politic 2004 Winter

The Politic, Inc.

Follow this and additional works at: <http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/politic>

 Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), [International Relations Commons](#), [Policy Design, Analysis, and Evaluation Commons](#), [Policy History, Theory, and Methods Commons](#), [Political Theory Commons](#), [Public Affairs Commons](#), and the [Public Policy Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

The Politic, Inc., "The Politic 2004 Winter" (2004). *The Politic*. 58.  
<http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/politic/58>

This The Politic is brought to you for free and open access by the Yale University Publications at EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Politic by an authorized administrator of EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. For more information, please contact [elischolar@yale.edu](mailto:elischolar@yale.edu).



# The **POLITIC**

A Yale College Publication

Volume V Issue IV

Winter 2004

\$6.95



## **American Extremism**

**Tying Together the Fringes of a Nation**

**Featuring: Ralph Nader, Janet Reno, Bill Emmot**



# thank you

The Politic gratefully acknowledges the support of the Yale Institution for Social and Policy Studies, the Yale Center for International and Area Studies, and International Security Studies. Their generosity and commitment have helped make this magazine possible.

This publication was made possible in part by the Castle Publications Fund. John K. Castle endowed the fund in memory of his ancestor, James Pierpont, one of Yale's original founders.

The Politic would also like to extend its sincere gratitude to its Board of Advisers, whose guidance has played a large role in shaping the development and expanding the influence of The Politic.

The Politic is published in partnership with the Yale Daily News Publishing Company, Inc.

The  
**POLITIC**



**Editor-in-Chief**  
Jason Davis

**Managing Editors**  
Pascal Noel  
Joshua Boehm

**Layout Director**  
Bradley Gallagher

**National Editor**  
Derrick Sutter

**Features Editors**  
William Ritchie  
Wells O'Byrne

**International Editor**  
Emily Phillips

**Opinions Editor**  
Kyle Black

**Publishers**  
Megan Danna  
Hunter Swartz

**Associate Editors**  
Grayson Walker, Gregory Carlson,  
Katherine Booth

**Webmaster**  
Casey Street

**Board of Advisors**

John Lewis Gaddis  
Robert A. Lovett Professor of Military & Naval  
History, Yale University

David Gergen  
Editor-at-Large, U.S. News & World Report

Anthony Kronman  
Former Dean, Yale Law School

Ian Shapiro  
Director, Yale Center for  
International and Area Studies

Elizabeth Stauderman  
Director of Public Affairs, Yale Law School

For information regarding subscriptions,  
advertisements, or contributions, please visit  
our website at [www.thepolitic.org](http://www.thepolitic.org), email us at  
[editor@thepolitic.org](mailto:editor@thepolitic.org), or write us at:

*The Politic*  
P.O. Box 201452

New Haven, CT 06520

We welcome letters to the editor and any  
other feedback you may have.

All photographs, unless otherwise noted,  
appear courtesy of AFP.

**Disclaimer:** This magazine is published by Yale  
College students, and Yale University is not  
responsible for its contents. The opinions  
expressed by the contributors to *The Politic* do not  
necessarily reflect those of its staff or advertisers.



[www.thepolitic.org](http://www.thepolitic.org)

Winter 2004

Dear Reader,

We have all spent the better part of the past three years with our eyes focused overseas. In our post-9/11 world, television news anchors, professors, and our own government have trained us to find the terrorist threat abroad and to identify its infiltrators on the home front. But fanaticism is not limited to the followers of the Iranian mullahs or the Wahhabi preachers of Saudi Arabia. Age-old American extremism is alive – and flourishing – within our own borders.

From left-wing eco-warriors to right-wing militiamen, radicals continue to organize and recruit across the United States. At Yale, we are absorbed into a mainstream America that fails to recognize the growing significance of fringe movements. Though students express a diverse range of views and interests, very few stray from the moderate path that dominates this country's politics. This issue of *The Politic* explores the world of domestic radicalism by both consulting with renowned experts and speaking with leaders of fringe ideologies. Lewis Lapham, editor of *Harper's*, discusses how the mainstream media has stifled political dissent while former environmental activist Christopher Manes explores the extreme left. Meanwhile, Ralph Reed describes his activities with the Christian Right and Chip Berlet takes a more scholarly approach to studying groups on the margin.

In the National section, Ralph Nader and Janet Reno headline in interviews that investigate their roles in American politics of the last decade. Richard Phelps, a standardized testing advocate, puts a new spin on an issue that has received growing press coverage due to concerns regarding the No Child Left Behind legislation. A Yale undergraduate, Grayson Walker, then challenges the legacy admissions policies of elite universities.

The International section begins with an analysis of globalization by visiting professor Faisal Devji. Bill Emmot, editor of *The Economist*, lends his insights on a number of looming threats to the world community. Yale junior Sarah Cannon uses her past travels as a basis for discussing the future of South Africa, and Irshad Manji debates the possibility for global conflict resolution.

Finally, in the Opinions section, we are proud to share the perspectives of Igal Aciman, Alan Kennedy-Shafer, Robert Holub, and Sam Paris.

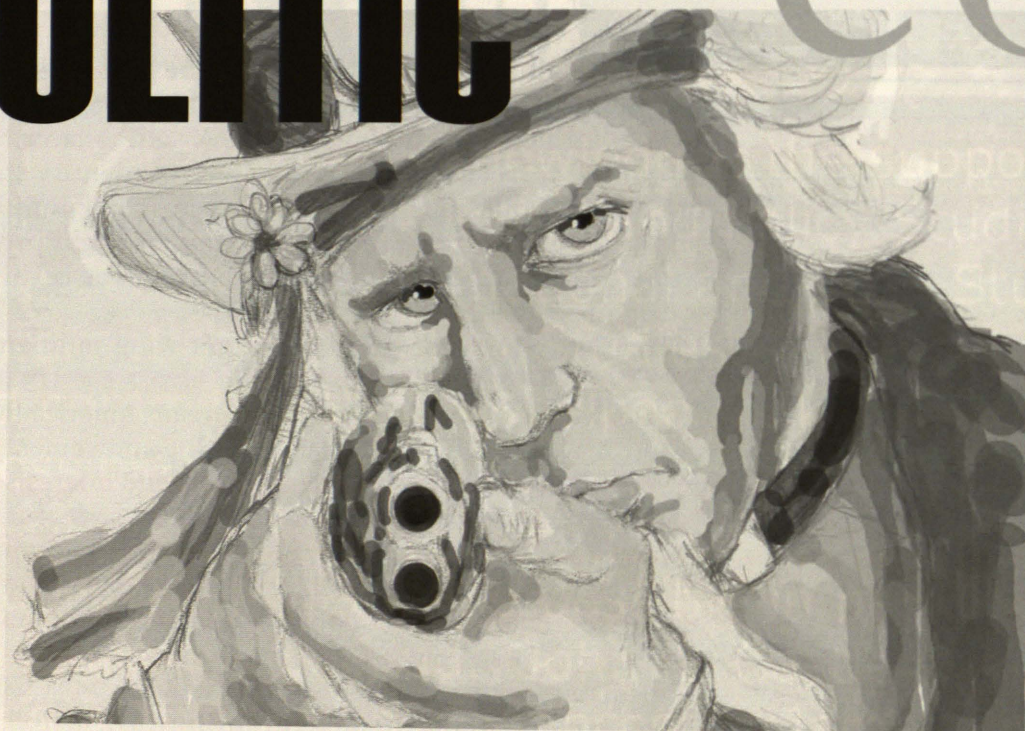
On behalf of the new editorial board, I would like to welcome you to this issue of *The Politic*. We are thrilled to have such distinguished contributors this winter, and hope that you will take the time to enjoy this journal from cover to cover.

Cheers!

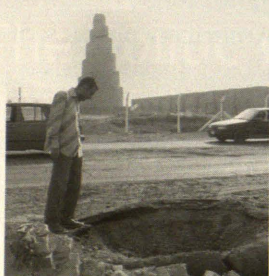
*Jason Davis*

Jason Davis, Editor-in-Chief





## FEATURES: American Extremism



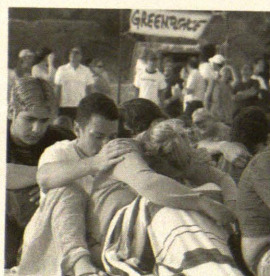
### An Electorate at the Fringes

An Exploration of Fringe Candidates in Election 2004.....34

### A Free Press Without Dissent

Excerpt from *Gag Rule* (2004)

by Lewis Lapham.....36



### Radical Environmentalism, Part II

A Look at the Extreme Left

by Christopher Manes.....40



### Conservatism and the Religious Right

An Interview with Ralph Reed.....44

### Extremists or Dissidents?

Remapping and Rehabilitating Movements of Dissent

by Chip Berlet.....46



# Contents

## NATIONAL

### Taking an Independent Stand

An Interview with Ralph Nader.....8

### Educational Testing Policy: Stuck Between Two Political Parties

by Richard P. Phelps.....12

### Political Trailblazer, Cultural Icon

An Interview with Janet Reno.....16

### Legacy Admissions: Closing the Back Door to Higher Education

by Grayson Walker.....18



## INTERNATIONAL

### Globalization and Apocalypse: Has Globalization Replaced Internationalism?

by Faisal Devji.....22

### The Shifting Dynamics of World Power

An Interview with Bill Emmot.....25

### Race and Democracy in South Africa: Paradigm or Inevitable Collapse?

by Sarah Cannon.....28

### Refusing to Make a Fetish Out of Forgiveness: A Review of Ellis Close's *Bone to Pick*

by Irshad Manji.....31



## OPINION

### A Yalie's Campaign Journal: At the Epicenter of Election 2004: Cleveland, Ohio

by Samuel Paris.....50

### A Bridge to the East: Turkey and the European Dream

by Igal Aciman.....55

### The New NASA: An Outline for the Future of American Space Exploration

by Robert Holub.....59

### The Day After: Coping with the Liberal Defeat

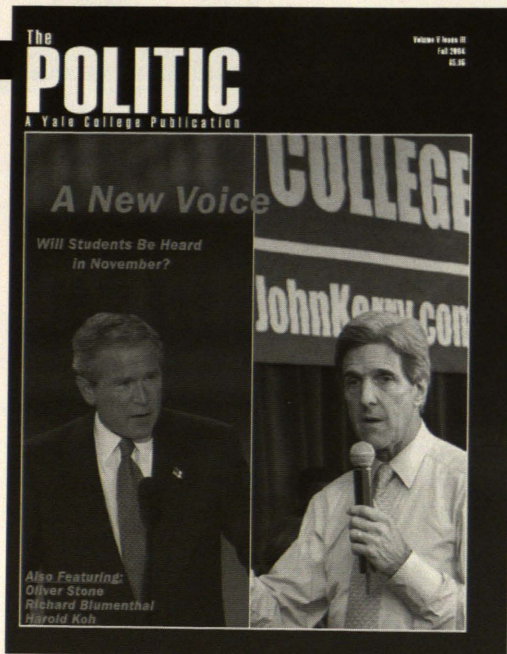
by Alan Kennedy-Shaffer.....62

### FINAL WORD Back To Basics: Reinventing the Goldwater Revolution

by Jason Davis, Editor-in-Chief.....64







#### Re: Education Reform To the Editor:

Thank you, Jeremy Watford, for speaking out against the No Child Left Behind Act. I fail to understand how adding yet more standardized tests will help our nation's youth to excel in school. I certainly hope that in the future there are employment opportunities for those with a strong background in solving analogies and bubbling in letters, because I don't know what else these students are learning.

However, I do disagree with Mr. Watford's argument regarding grade retention. If a student does not understand a grade's curriculum, he or she should not be passed to the next level. At one time I tutored a junior in high school who was failing algebra and the high school graduation exam. The root of the problem was that she had never learned her multiplication facts. How she was promoted all the way to algebra is beyond me.

For so many reasons, the No Child Left Behind Act needs to be repealed. In its place, schools need to hold teachers accountable for ensuring that students are held responsible for learning the curriculum required in courses. The sad fact of the matter is that children will not succeed

# letters to the editor

in the real world if they have strong self-esteems, because they were never held back a grade, but are unable to pass a basic high school graduation exam and earn their diploma because they were never held responsible for their education.

Sarah Barenbaum  
Calhoun College '08

#### Re: America's Global Warming Policy

To the Editor:

I am writing to commend David Gardiner's insightful comments on America's environmental policy. I would like to highlight what I think is one

of his strongest arguments, despite the fact that it is most likely ignored by most of the legislators in charge of policy. He argues that even the business community accepts that they *should* have some responsibility for reducing emissions; they accept the science that the White House is so irresponsibly ignoring. They understand that the administrations will not be able to ignore the facts forever, leading them to view new legislation as an inevitability. Thus, they find themselves confronted with unnecessary uncertainty. They know that policy will have to change, but they don't know how or when.

This uncertainty is a bigger problem than most people think. Any economist will tell you that uncertainty places severe limits on investment. This is due to the inherent intertemporal nature of business planning. It is hard to invest in new technology today that won't be ready until tomorrow if you don't know what the regulation on such technology will be by the time it is available for use. Gardiner correctly understands that this means new regulation *now* is actually in the best interest of the business community. This would enable these businesses to

plan farther into the future, leading them to make more informed, and more expansive, investment choices. Such investment would clearly be a boost for the economy in aggregate.

In this line of reasoning Gardiner presents a purely economic rationale for new environmental regulation at the current time. Because business people want certainty, even at the cost of some new regulation, that is what they should be given. The significance of this argument is that it defends new environmental regulation, that would adequately reflect scientific fact, in terms that would satisfy even the current administration. The Bush team is certainly concerned with business interests, as most of their domestic policy agenda no doubt reflects. Thus, Gardiner's argument implies that a rational Bush administration should actually implement new legislation, as it is in the best interest of one of its core constituencies. The problem remains, however, in convincing the party of 'trickle down economics' that this economically sound rationale should be accepted.

Elizabeth Moore  
Saybrook College '06

#### Re: A Multilateral War on Terror To the Editor:

I appreciate the specific suggestions that Harold Koh made for the ways the Bush administration could have taken a more multilateral approach to confronting terrorism and Saddam Hussein. Going back to the days after September 11<sup>th</sup> when the world was at our side, Mr. Koh says that the president should have "used the multilateral moment to come to the U.N. and make a statement that this was the civilized world against terrorism." During the campaign, we heard from Kerry that he would have taken a more multilateral approach, but he didn't give any specifics. With concrete solutions such as Koh suggests, perhaps Kerry would have stood a better chance at winning the trust of the American people.

David Zaragoza  
Timothy Dwight College '06

*The Politic* welcomes letters to the editors, article submissions, and any and all comments. All articles must be written exclusively for *The Politic*. *The Politic* reserves the right to edit all submissions. Please direct all correspondence to [editor@thepolitic.org](mailto:editor@thepolitic.org) or *The Politic*, P.O. Box 201452, New Haven, CT 06520.





## spotlight on:

### Judy Woodruff

CNN Anchor and Broadcast Journalist

The veteran broadcast journalist joined CNN in 1993 and anchors "Judy Woodruff's Inside Politics," the nation's first program devoted exclusively to politics. She also anchors other major news events, including CNN's coverage of the 2004 presidential race. On November 11, 2004, she spoke with *The Politic*.

#### **What first got you interested in journalism?**

My first interest was really in government and politics. Majoring in political science, I had this dream that I wanted to somehow be involved in working in government and politics, though at first I didn't have a clear idea of what I could do. I did work in Washington for a couple summers during college—at the time, my family lived in northeast Georgia, so I got an internship with Congressman Bob Stevens of the 10<sup>th</sup> district. These were the summers before my junior and senior years, and while I was in Washington, I got the distinct impression that the jobs were not so plentiful for someone right out of college with only a B.A. and even with an advanced degree. So I went back to Duke for my senior year, and rethought whether I really did want to go right into government. I happened to be taking a course in politics and mass communications—the professor and I started talking, and I realized that I wanted to be a reporter. I guess I kind of fell into journalism.

**A common perception is that competition and ratings wars have caused television media to sacrifice content and discourse for opinionated flash and sound bites. Do you think that commercial interests are incompatible with thorough reporting?**

I think that it's a complicated question. Basically, I think that the American people are getting what they want. If people really wanted longer, more thoughtful programming and news coverage, I think that they could stage a massive protest, and they'd certainly get their way. None of these networks or newspapers wants to produce news that nobody watches or reads—they put on news that people will watch and will read, so again, people are basically getting what they want. Now, does this mean that there aren't any people who are dissat-

isfied? Obviously, there are. And even though we do have this race of sorts to make news more brief and breezy in the presentation, we in the news business have to constantly think about how to both stay competitive and do the job of informing. It's a constant subject of discussion.

#### **What does the growing popularity of cable networks like Fox News say about the interests and attention of the American people?**

I think that people like competition. For a long time, CNN was the only kid on the block, and along came these two upstart competitors, Fox News and MSNBC, and they are worthy competitors. I think the competition is also good for us—people lament that certain networks cover the news a certain way, but frankly, the bottom line is that there's more choice. People can watch Fox if they like that kind of presentation, or they can watch CNN. The real danger in my mind is if everybody starts doing things alike and people don't have a choice. That would worry me.

#### **How do you feel that your show, CNN's *Inside Politics*, fulfills the responsibility to report news fully and fairly to the American people?**

In terms of how the show is doing, it's hard for me to answer without displaying my prejudices. As the anchor of the show, so I'm fully responsible for what we do, but I'm also part of a large team of people—producers, correspondents, and so on—that collectively works together to produce the show. I think that we do a pretty good job, but I think that we do sometimes wish that we have more time to tell stories—I absolutely do. But given the constraints that we're operating under, we do a very good job, because we're focused. In fact, this is a luxury that many other shows don't have: we can hone in on specific issues, while most shows have to cover everything.

#### **How would you respond to charges that CNN itself is somewhat biased?**

All human beings have biases. There's no such thing as





Republican team huddle: “Play action fake to Dick; George, go long!”

pure objectivity—all you can try to do is be as fair as you can. And at CNN, we certainly try to do that. I’m very conscious of it and everybody I work with is very conscious of it. For example, if we put somebody on from one campaign but can’t get anybody from the other side, we make a deliberate decision to balance them out the next hour, next program, or next day. It’s an issue that’s very much on our minds.

**From a journalist’s standpoint, what are your main impressions from the 2004 election season?**

We came into 2004 determined not to repeat the mistakes of 2000. Everybody had massive egg on their faces from making the wrong calls—not just one, but two

wrong calls—in 2000. So we resolved to be more cautious and more careful. One of my colleagues has said, and I’ve said it myself, that we’d rather be right than first, by far. In 2004, CNN was last in calling Ohio, and I’m perfectly comfortable with that. I’ve got this old fashioned view that it’s much more important to be sure before you make any projections. The mindset in 2004 that was driving much of what we were doing made me feel much more comfortable than I had under past circumstances when you feel this great competitive pressure. We’re always competing—stories, guests, across the board. It’s the good old American way. But sometimes, all that competition can crowd out good information, so that’s why I was glad this year. I think that by and large, we did a pretty good job.






## Democrats in discord: “WWCD ... What would Clinton do?”

**You’ve founded the International Women’s Media Foundation, an organization that promotes women in communication. How do you think that media opportunities for women have progressed over the years, and what are the prospects for the future?**

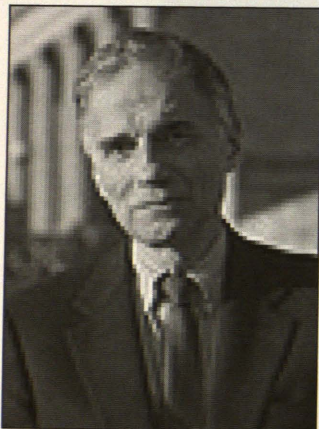
We’ve come a very, very long way. This organization, by the way, was founded in 1989, at the same time that many areas of the world, like Eastern Europe, were beginning to find their way as democracies. The idea was to give these countries a little nudge as they developed a free press to make sure that women were given a fair shake. Many of these places had no experience whatsoever with a free press, and we just wanted to put a little

public pressure on these gentlemen, reminding them to give women an opportunity as they came along. In America, women have come enormously far—we are anchors, producers, and are gradually making our way into management. But in these nascent democracies, our view was that we needed to recognize women journalists as they take a risk. For example, we established a Courage in Journalism award that we give every year to three women journalists around the world who have literally risked life and limb to tell a story. Some of these remarkable women have faced down hostile governments, hostile corporate interests, threats to their family, and have even had acid thrown in their faces. There are still horrible situations around the world, and we think that it’s important to keep the pressure on. 



# TAKING AN INDEPENDENT STAND

*A Conversation with Consumer Advocate Ralph Nader*



**R**alph Nader, renowned consumer safety activist and four-time presidential candidate, captured national attention in 1965 when he confronted General Motors by publicizing safety flaws in American automobiles. Since then, he has worked consistently on a number of corporate, environmental, and consumer rights issues. In 2004, Mr. Nader ran for president as an independent candidate. On November 9, 2004, he sat down with *The Politic*.

**Throughout your career, you have been a champion for consumer's rights, responsible government and business, and social justice. Do you think that the Republican and Democratic Parties are neglecting these issues, and if so, how do you think your agenda can be reintegrated into the national political forum?**

I think they have neglected it, and that they've actually allowed the government to become an instrument blocking things that need to be done. This happens with the allocation of federal budgets heavily into corporate outlets, huge military budgets, and starving the consumer regulatory agencies. They've turned the government over to corporate priorities and corporate control. The idea of trying to get all this into the electoral arena, which is what this campaign was striving to do, comes up against the two party, winner-take-all electoral college duopoly. It's necessary to keep going at it, even if you don't prevail very much, because that's how you demonstrate how dictatorial the system is and break through the mythology that our government is fully accessible and democratic. It's very important to stress the system inside the electoral arena to debunk these mythologies and get people to face up to the reality that they've lost their government.

**Is it possible that your candidacies, in view of the controversy surrounding them, have actually counteracted efforts to gain wider support for your policies?**

I guess your question assumes that there's any support for us within government to begin with. The few who do support us, like Rep. Henry Waxman of California, aren't changing their positions, but basically the government has shut out citizen groups with only several luminous minority congressional exceptions. The ex-

ecutive branch, however, is completely shut down—no matter how much the Republicans talk about the need for less regulation, there simply is no regulation in the sense of standards forcing corporations to do what they don't want to do. And the regulations we do have, such as auto safety and environmental restrictions, are antiquated and rarely enforced. It's like Dylan's old song, "There isn't much left to lose." You have to face up to it; you can't just sit around in Washington acting like you're getting things done just so you can send letters out to your contributors to get more contributions. The nation's capital is corporate occupied territory. The only victories that citizen groups are getting now are increasingly dwindling defensive victories. It's all about trying to get the progressive constituencies to face up to it, but they've got to get new energies, politically, electorally, civically—they can't do it with what they have. Once again, we have to go the well of the people.

**According to exit polls during November's election, many Bush voters cited moral values as a main reason for supporting him. You have since accused Bush of "occluding secular immorality." Please elaborate on this assertion, explaining how this has affected political discourse in America and what you think should be done about it.**

Bush is a promoter of injustice. All he talks about is terrorism, which his illegal invasion of Iraq is, and making every American safe; he never talks about the hundreds of thousands of people who die every year from preventable causes that his administration is supposed to be removing. According to OSHA, there have been 58,000 workplace deaths a year under Bush. There are 65,000 deaths attributable to air pollution, a factor that he could regulate. He's done nothing about medical



malpractice—at least 80,000 deaths a year, says a Harvard School of Public Health study—except to urge keeping the wounded and next of kin from having their full day in court against hospitals and bad doctors that produce death and injury. So, when you start adding all these up and compare them to the casualty level on 9/11, it's quite devastating. Again, we're talking about hundreds of thousands of people dying from preventable causes. He's aware of this, but focuses solely on Al Qaeda and distracting people from his utter failure and disinterest in leaving Americans defenseless in these and other categories. Bush is a very cruel man, and when you combine cruelty with ignorance and a monetized mind linked to his corporate paymasters, you get what you see. Politicians get away with these things by getting uninformed people to focus on their words, not their deeds.

**As an advocate of sweeping social reform in health care, labor, and education, how much improvement do you expect the current Congress and administration to enact? What would you set forth as realistic short term goals?**

In the immediate short term, reforms are particularly needed in living wages, health insurance, ending corporate welfare, public funding of public campaigns, and environmental and energy advances. For example, the two or three billions of dollars currently being spent in presidential campaigns is a bargain for buying the United States government. It's a good investment for those who spent it—think of all the giveaways and contracts to drug companies and other corporations. Changes regarding trade unions are also very important; we are the most obstructionist country in the Western world in terms of blocking people from forming trade unions, which are especially needed because of places like Wal-Mart and McDonalds. Most people would be in favor of such reforms, and they would be very practical, as well as being long overdue.

**With regard to Iraq, you have called**

**for withdrawal of American troops within six months, replacing them with seasoned peacekeepers from neighboring and neutral countries. How can we convince these nations, many of which opposed the war, to lend this support? Might American withdrawal be perceived as acquiescence by insurgents, emboldening their efforts to seize power?**

Withdrawal at the end of six months would have to be preceded by internationally supervised elections, suitable autonomy for Sunnis, Kurds, Shiites, and the introduction of peacekeepers from Islamic nations and other neutral countries. The peacekeepers will come in when there is an exit strategy and a timetable. They will not come in to participate in a U.S. occupation served by fourteen new military bases that the Pentagon is planning to build there. So once Iraqis know they're getting their country back without a puppet dictatorship backed by U.S. troops, and without the oil companies taking away their major resources, the bottom falls out of the resistance. The resistance is basically to get the occupation out of there. Once there's a deadline, the mainstream Iraqis will distance themselves from the insurgents, who are then reduced to just a criminal gang. The reason why five to ten thousand insurgents in this country are tying down the U.S. Army is because they can melt into communities, neighborhoods, and alleyways where they find support. If there were forty or fifty thousand of these insurgents, we'd be in huge, huge turmoil.

**Do you believe that fighting terrorism should be part of a broader strategy? If so, what means and objectives should it entail? In what ways would it improve on the Bush Administration's foreign policy?**

First of all, you don't fight in a way that creates more terrorists, and that's what the invasion of Iraq is doing every day. It effectively recruits all across the Islamic world, creating more determination to form more units to go against the U.S. And Bush's own anti-terrorist

**“Once Iraqis know they're getting their country back without a puppet dictatorship backed by U.S. troops, the bottom falls out of the resistance.”**



**"The pursuit of justice is its own reward, since it is a precondition for the pursuit of happiness."**

advisers who have left the administration, like Richard Clarke and Marine General (ret.) Anthony Zinni, have said that this is exactly what's happening. Secondly, we've got to mean something to the masses of the third world. We've got to help go after infectious diseases, like tuberculosis, malaria, and AIDS. With a pittance of what military equipment costs, we could decontaminate many drinking water sources. We could show them how to better preserve and store the food that they grow—they now lose about thirty percent of it to pests, fungus, rodents, and so on. We've got to show them that we're a humanitarian superpower, otherwise they will provide breeding grounds for all kinds of manifestations against our own safety. The no-fault, never-make-a-mistake George W. Bush is exactly the opposite kind of president you want for that—you couldn't call someone more unfit for pursuing the points I've just made. He invades Iraq, he couldn't care less about assistance to the masses in the third world, he'll go anywhere regardless of international law or national sovereignty in pursuit of 'suspected terrorists,' and he'll do it with faulty intelligence. Also, the percentage of our GDP that goes toward aid is among the lowest in the Western world.

**You have expressed concern about multinational corporations circumventing governmental oversight. How can America enforce tough laws and standards without making its companies non-competitive in the global market or creating an incentive for them to move operations overseas?**

Well, now they can do whatever they want, especially with the WTO and NAFTA. The question is how we can reassert a semblance of national sovereignty over these multinational corporations, and one way is to get out of the WTO and NAFTA and renegotiate them so that they are a) open and democratic in their procedures, b) they stick only to trade and don't support any consumer, environment, or trade issues, which should be addressed between in-

dividual countries in separate treaties on level playing fields and c) flexible in allowing nations to change these terms. Right now, St. Kitts, which is an island in the Caribbean with 69,000 people, has the same voting power as the United States: one country, one vote. It's all designed so that nothing changes, enabling corporations to influence these small countries, thereby blocking any reform. However, in the terms of both of these agreements, signatory nations can withdraw after six months' notice. Since we're the world's biggest economy, if we did that we could bring the other nations to renegotiate.

The WTO and NAFTA are really international systems of autocratic governance, subordinating what's left of our democratic processes like open courts and regulatory agencies in this country. Increasingly, decisions are now being made by this supranational, authoritarian, secretive form of government, which was created by multinational corporations and their corporate law firms. And when presidential fast track authority is in effect, your senator or representative can't amend any of these agreements—it's just an up or down vote.

**Many economists project a fiscal squeeze in the near future, particularly in light of the trade deficit, growing national debt, and entitlements due to baby boomers. How would you address this problem?**

First of all, Social Security is actuarially sound. It has been building up surpluses and will continue to do so until 2013. But instead of being put into the trust fund, these surpluses have been spent by the government on operating budgets to reduce the appearance of a greater deficit. Therefore, the Social Security system is owed money by the U.S. Treasury. According to the trustees, the system will be solid until 2044 based on 1.7% average GDP growth annually, and from 1950 to now we've had over 3% average GDP growth. Corporatists are trying to make Social Security seem insecure so they can get the money into the stock market. Also, everyone underestimates the resiliency of the economy. A long time ago, my fa-



ther used to ask us, "Why will capitalism always survive, children?" And the answer was, "Because socialism will always be around to bail it out."


We have an \$8 trillion national debt, we have \$9.7 trillion in consumer debt, and the government is now running the biggest annual deficits in history at almost \$500 billion. The dollar is starting to decline, and since we've had 28 years of trade deficits, we are at the mercy of those who hold our treasury bonds, Japan and China in particular. How long can this go? How long can you pull a rubber band in opposite directions? Uncle Sam can't be the ultimate guarantor forever of the reckless corporate economy, which pressures and shapes federal budgets. Because of weapons manufacturers and their lobbyists in Congress, half of the federal operating budget is military, while there is no major enemy. If this rubber band breaks, there will first be a precipitous drop in the dollar, as the Chinese and Japanese start selling our bonds. Right now, their only other choice for a safe repository is Europe, so essentially we hold them hostage while they hold us hostage. But it can't go on forever. And when inflation starts going, it will be very hard to control. Risks are increasing, and the problems I've outlined may happen under George W. Bush's second watch.

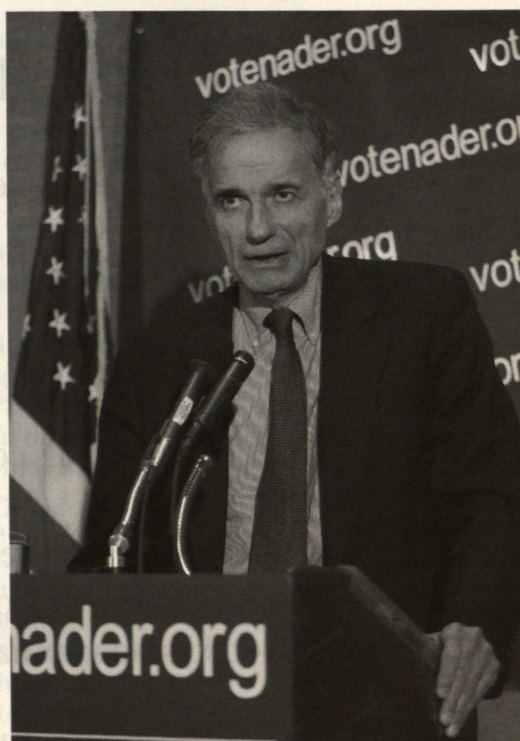
**How will you motivate younger generations to take part in "The Good Fight," as you call your movement and your new book? What insights and advice would you tell someone aspiring to become a civic leader or activist?**

That they should think higher of their own significance and ability to have an impact, and that pursuit of justice is its own reward, since it is a precondition for the pursuit of happiness. You don't have many people in brutalized countries pursuing happiness. And in making things more exciting for the young people, life has to be seen in its cultural and social milieu—not overdoing the music and the poetry, but having a place for it. They should remember how people 100 or 200 years ago pushed the

country forward, even without all the communication facilities and innovations we have today. Now it's their turn to put their hand on the wheel of justice, so they can look their grandchildren in the eye when they are asked, "What were you doing when the world was falling apart?" All kinds of different sources of civic motivation are possible. But nothing happens with a young person unless there's a little nucleus to build on, a nucleus of empathy or compassion that can grow and redirect the young person's life toward the pursuit of justice. One person might want to work on mass starvation, another might want to make bureaucracies more accountable, a third person may want to advance living standards for the masses through various policies, and a fourth may want to transform our technology into building a more sustainable economy, such as solar energy instead of fossil fuels. So there's a huge menu of choices, but you'd have to decide that that's what you really want to do, as opposed to endlessly piling up material wealth and getting a hollow feeling when you turn seventy.

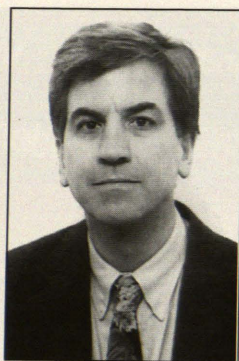
**Is there anything else you would like to share with the Yale Community?**

The worst thing that can happen to a Yale undergraduate is to be a prisoner of his or her own ideology. I've seen it there at Yale, and it's a terrible mind to waste. This is when everything is prejudged into certain categories—when you talk about regulating for safety, you hear no, no, let the free market do it. These students go through their years empirically starved, because their answers come from their rigid ideology. I saw it at a Yale debating society a few years ago; you know it the minute you see it. 



*Nader 2004: Ralph Nader announces his candidacy. During his campaign, he made a stop at Yale on, where he urged students to think outside the "Yale bubble."*





## EDUCATIONAL TESTING POLICY

### *Stuck Between Two Political Parties*

by Richard P. Phelps

The U.S. public has consistently favored the use of standardized testing in the schools, preferably with consequences (or “stakes”) riding on the results, since first polled on the topic several decades ago. Depending on how the question is framed, those in favor of high-stakes standardized testing outnumber those opposed from

two-to-one to twelve-to-one. Parents are stronger supporters of high-stakes testing than non-parents, and that support does not budge when offered the possibility of their own progeny failing.

Results from different polls approaching the topic in different ways suggest that most Americans would like to see high-stakes tests administered at least once every grade level. The typical U.S. school district, however, offers just one or two high-stakes standardized tests in twelve years of elementary and secondary school. Few public programs attract such a high level of support. Likewise, few public programs are afforded less serious consideration in policy discussions.

Mind you, I am not suggesting that policy makers ignore the issue completely, nor that testing receives no political support. Quite obviously, large-scale testing programs do exist in the United States, many politicians profess support for them, and policy discussions are engaged.

With only a few exceptions, however, U.S. educational testing programs fall far short of what the U.S. public wants, and far short of what most industrialized countries have. And, unless the politics of the issue changes dramatically, in some manner I cannot foresee, it is likely to remain this way.

#### **Comprehensive Testing Systems are Multi-leveled and Multi-targeted**

A comprehensive testing system is one that captures

*Richard P. Phelps is author of Kill the Messenger: The War on Standardized Testing (Transaction, 2003), editor of Defending Standardized Testing (Lawrence Erlbaum, January 2005), and co-founder of Third Education Group ([www.thirddeducationgroup.org](http://www.thirddeducationgroup.org)).*

all the benefits standardized testing offers, and does it for all students, not just some. Large-scale, high-stakes educational tests offer three benefits:

1. Information that can be used for diagnosis (e.g., of individual students or teachers, of schools, of school programs);
2. Efficiencies from alignment, when the tests are matched to curricular standards and teachers teach to those standards (and, yes, teach “to the test,” as they are supposed to do with standards-based tests); and
3. Motivation to study and to attain goals.

The best testing regimes, such as one finds in many European and Asian countries, tap all three sources of benefits through multi-level and multi-target systems. “Multi-level” means that high-stakes tests are administered at more than just one educational level. Typically in European and Asian systems, students face high-stakes tests at the beginning and/or end of more than one educational level (e.g., at the end of primary school, the beginning and/or end of lower secondary school, the beginning and/or end of upper secondary school, and the beginning and/or end of postsecondary education).

“Multi-target” means that every student, no matter where they are in the range of achievement or in their choice of curriculum, faces a high-stakes test that, ideally, offers a challenging, but attainable, goal. In some systems, tests are set at multiple levels of difficulty, and offer multiple levels of certification (e.g., a “regular” diploma and an “honors” diploma). In other systems, different tests cover different subject matter (e.g., general, vocational, or academic; literature, math & science, technology, or social science).

In the United States, high-stakes tests are uncom-



mon at any but the upper secondary level. Moreover, with very few exceptions, they are single-target tests—each and every student, no matter what their level of achievement or ability, course selection, or curricular preference, must meet only one common standard of performance.

Ironically, largely socialist Europe, with its relatively small socioeconomic and academic achievement disparity, acknowledges that children are different and offers them a range of academic options and multiple achievement targets. In the more libertarian United States, with its relatively large socioeconomic and academic achievement disparity, pressure is brought to bear for all children to take the same curriculum (i.e., what is often called the “college track”) and a single academic achievement target is set for all.

When only one academic achievement target is offered, by necessity it must be a low target. If it is not, huge numbers of students can fail and the educational system can collapse on itself. When the single target is low, responsive school systems focus effort and resources toward bringing the lowest-achieving students up to that target. Unfortunately, they also may neglect the average- and higher-achieving students or, in the most perverse cases, deliberately hold them back.

### The No Child Left Behind Act

The federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act set in place what is largely a testing program. NCLB, however, falls far short of a comprehensive multi-level, multi-target high-stakes testing system. State NCLB testing systems typically set only one target (for schools), no stakes for students (so little motivation to take the test seriously), and curricular alignment can be less than perfect. Yet, as little as it may be, NCLB is commonly characterized by educators and journalists as either being too much or else marking the limit of what our schools can bear.

NCLB is modeled after a Texas testing program supported in the 1990s by then-Governor George W. Bush. The general outline of the program had been initiated in the 1980s by one Democratic Texas governor and then devel-

oped during the administration of another. But presidential candidate Bush championed the program as his own, and so did his critics.

During the presidential campaign of 2000, a deluge of negative press coverage swamped the media. I conducted a tally from spring 2000 into the fall. Articles on standardized testing, most of them about Texas, ran at an average rate of about six a day. Most of them were uniformly negative about tests. In addition, half a dozen anti-testing books were released during the year, with their authors interviewed frequently in the media.

Dozens of professional education groups, such as the American Association of School Administrators, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Association for Curriculum Supervision and Development, vehemently denounced standardized testing programs in general and candidate Bush's proposal in particular. Surf the web sites of these groups even today and one will find an unadulterated diet of one-sided anti-testing research, information, and sloganeering. Such groups form the Democratic Party base on education issues.

### Base-ically Opposed

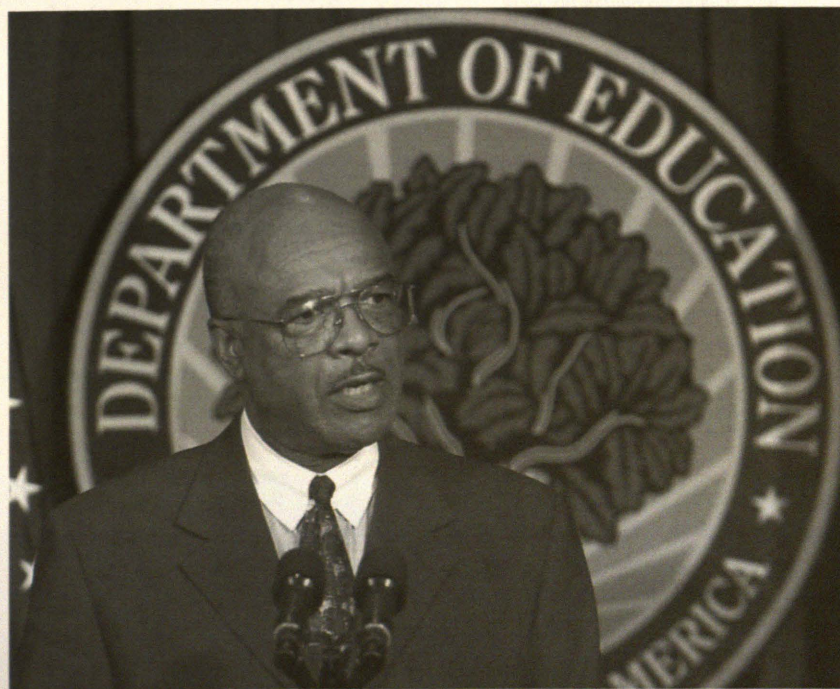
I relished the prospect of standardized testing being a key issue in a presi-

*Reaching Out: President Bush explains to a crowd of young students the merits of his plan.*

*“When only one academic achievement target is offered, by necessity it must be a low target.”*

*“U.S. educational testing programs*

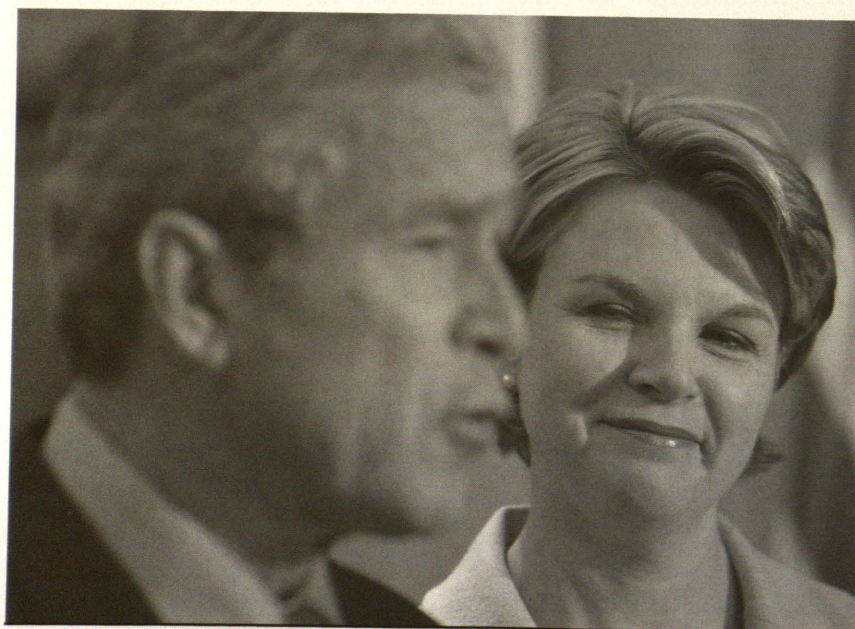
*Learning How to Learn: Outgoing Secretary of Education Rod Paige outlines his plans to reform the American educational system, in line with the Bush-backed No Child Left Behind Act.*





**"When only one academic achievement target is offered, by necessity it must be a low target."**

*Spelling Bee: President Bush meets with Incoming Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings, his longtime adviser in Texas. Her dedication to early reading and student accountability were the prototype for what would become Bush's educational program.*



dential campaign. In normal times, public debate on the issue is dominated by testing opponents. The year 2000 held promise for a wider, more balanced discussion. To encourage it, I conducted some research myself, the results of which contradicted the most prominent accusations. I sent the work to journalists and to any Republican group I could find, assuming that they would want to defend their standard-bearer. I informed both groups of the aforementioned negative press deluge and encouraged efforts to tell the other side of the story.

Hundreds of letters, phone calls, and email messages later, I was stunned. Hardly any of them cared. Education journalists seemed quite content to tell just one side of the story. Most of the Republican groups showed no interest in the issue and the few that were interested were strongly opposed to standardized testing as a big government intrusion into local and family affairs. Not until half a year after George W. Bush was elected president did any of the Republican groups put any substantial effort into standardized testing advocacy. The base of each of the two major political parties seemed to dislike educational testing just as much as the overwhelming majority of the U.S. public liked it.

## **Republicans Do Not Necessarily Represent the Other Side**

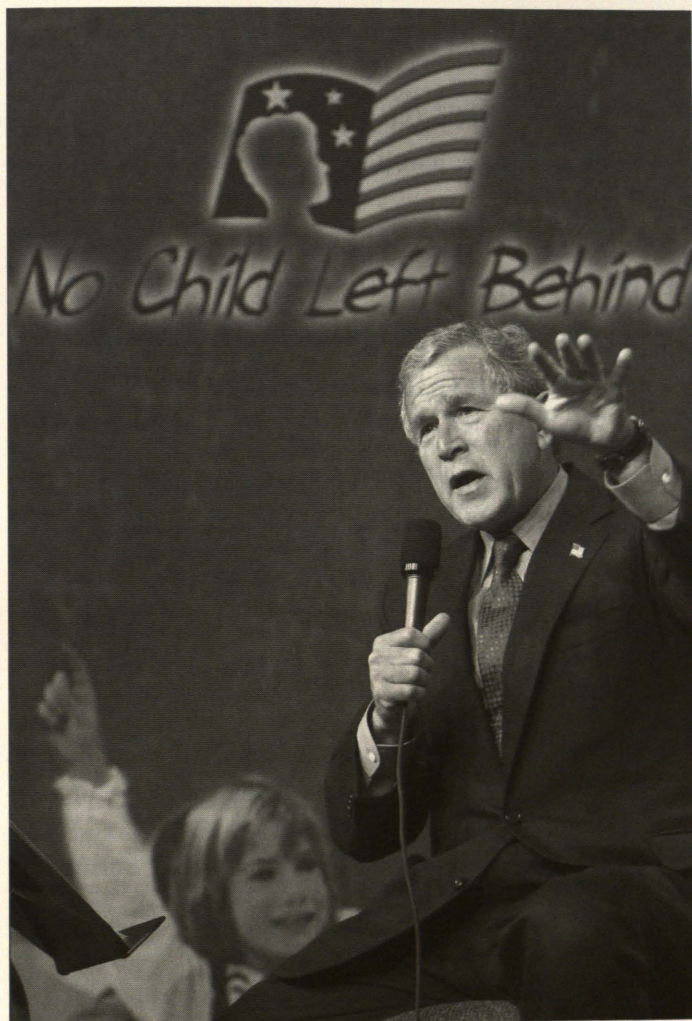
Yet, one finds only representatives of the two party bases in most media cov-

erage of the topic. Many journalists assume that the Republicans must represent "the other side" of the testing issue and dozens of them call one of just a handful of Republican policy brokers for quotes or references to good sources. That most education journalists call the same few people every time for their stories suggests how uniform pack education journalism can be. That most education journalists assume the other side of a story is represented best by professional politicians demonstrates what little credence they give to education research as an objective, scientific pursuit.

Republican education policy development is run, more or less, like the petty fiefdom of overly acquisitive local labor bosses—all functions being staffed by the personal favorites of just two or three individuals. Look at the education policy work conducted either by Republican think tanks or promoted by Republican-oriented education advocacy groups and odds are it was produced by: (1) a certain former Assistant Secretary of Education—now a foundation director—or one of his dozens of former staffers; (2) a certain Ivy League Political Science professor or one of his former students or staffers; or (3) one from a group of a dozen or so sympathetic academic economists.

To counter the vast, experienced, and broadly-knowledgeable armada of talent advising education's vested interests and allied with the Democratic Party, the Republicans launch a bathtub boat flotilla, manned by a small inbred crew. The Republican thinkers do read and acknowledge each other's work, and, more broadly, some of the little work done on the topic by economists. But they declare nonexistent an enormous research literature accumulated by education planners and practitioners, program evaluators, and psychologists. Given that educational testing was invented by psychologists, that all tests are developed by psychometricians, that tests are administered by educational practitioners, and that testing programs are evaluated by program evaluators, the Republicans' focus seems a wee bit narrow. Most GOP groups dutifully disseminate the work emanating from this little group and, just





*Reaching Out: President Bush explains to a crowd of young students the merits of his plan.*

cational testing may be honorable and their actions to implement testing programs in the face of often vitriolic opposition should be considered heroic. But politicians are not psychometricians, as the on-again, off-again pattern and perpetually stunted form of testing programs in the United States affirms.

#### **Educational Testing: An Orphaned Policy**

Though they are rarely heard from in policy debates, many of the world's foremost testing experts work in North America. Ironically, they live in what could be considered an educational testing backwater.

There must be thousands of education researchers in the United States

who feel as frustrated as I do. Not only is the vast majority of quality research and information on educational testing ignored by journalists and the small group of celebrity researchers they talk to, extraordinarily often it is declared nonexistent. As a result, the American public and the American politician are persistently misinformed, and their desires reliably unrepresented in policy discussions.

What is a political centrist and proponent of a hugely popular public policy to do? Arguably, our country has not seen a viable *centrist* third party since 1912. But perhaps therein lies the only hope for a political group that will champion the sensible educational testing policy favored by the overwhelming majority of Americans and adopted by most of the planet's industrialized countries. "Nothing can stop a Bull Moose!" Nothing, that is, except a two-party system. **P**

**"U.S. educational testing programs fall far short of what the U.S. public wants, and far short of what most industrialized countries have."**

as dutifully, ignore the vast majority of education research and information.

By the way, you can forget about finding pro-testing advocates among the fringe political parties. Ralph Nader is responsible for founding the most extreme anti-testing group in the United States. Libertarians generally oppose enforced standards and large-scale testing as big government intrusion.

That many politicians support education standards and standardized testing, despite discouragement from their core supporters and close to universal disapproval from journalists, should be considered refreshing to any democrat. Our elected officials are often accused of pandering to the media and to their core supporters while they ignore the wishes of their constituents. Perhaps that is often the case, but it is not on this issue.

The intent of politicians to respond to the public mandate supporting edu-



# POLITICAL TRAILBLAZER, CULTURAL ICON

*An Interview with Former Attorney General Janet Reno*



**J**anet Reno was the first female Attorney General of the United States. During her high-profile eight-year tenure, she faced a variety of contentious issues, from the Branch-Davidians to the Elian Gonzalez controversy. She distinguished herself as one of the most powerful Attorneys General in history. A native of Florida, Ms. Reno dedicated her life to public service. On November 16, 2004, *The Politic* had the opportunity to speak with her.

**What do you think of John Ashcroft's handling of the Patriot Act? Do you feel the government has crossed the line between security and individual rights?**

I have not been briefed on what he has done in implementing the Patriot Act, so I cannot fully answer the question. But I think in securing the passage of the act, Ashcroft avoided helpful discussion that would have given people a better understanding of the act and what it was trying to do.

**In the post 9/11 world, the Justice Department has been assigned an integral role in the war on terror. Do you think terrorism should be the primary focus of the Justice Department?**

It depends on the circumstances. If you're talking about the events following 9/11 it certainly should be the most important of many important focuses. But the Justice Department has other responsibilities as well, such as protecting civil liberties, and I think the protection of civil liberties is as important as protecting against terrorism.

**How do you account for Bush's victory in Florida? What steps do you think the Democratic Party needs to take in that state?**

I think they need to learn from the Republicans how to get out the vote.

**You faced some criticism for sending armed agents to seize Elian Gonzalez. Do you feel such**

**force was necessary?**

Our efforts were to demonstrate a show of force rather than using force, thereby making the actual use of force unnecessary, and I think we were successful.

**How would you rate the effectiveness of the war on drugs? What do you feel are the most valuable weapons in this war?**

I think it's important to investigate, arrest, charge, and convict principal traffickers. I think we need to do much more in terms of providing treatment for first offenders possessing small amount through drug courts and otherwise by making treatment available to everyone who seeks it. I think we can do a lot more towards building up the economies of the countries that are principle suppliers of drugs and give them an opportunity to diversify their economy so that they are not so dependent on drugs. I think it's important to build up communities, to start early in the formative time of a person's life and give to children of families at risk an opportunity to grow in a strong and positive way by providing early childhood education, support for parents, and other initiatives that give the child a strong foundation for learning.

**As an opponent of the death penalty how did you justify supporting it in a number of cases as Attorney General? What is the future of the death penalty in America?**

I hope the death penalty in America will soon be part of our history. I do not believe in the death penalty, but it is the law, so I can ask for it and ensure I do everything



I can to make sure it is fairly applied.

**During your tenure as Attorney General the country witnessed a substantial decline in the national crime rate. In what ways do you believe the Justice Department contributed to this?**

Through investigation, prosecution, and conviction of violent criminals. Through drug courts and other initiatives that provided treatment and opportunities for people to deal with drug problems that generated much of the violence. Through early intervention programs with kids in school programs that gave young people a chance to get off on the right foot and through further cooperation with state and local law enforcement that developed a real relationship.

**Do you feel that sexism was a major obstacle in your public career and if so, how did you overcome this obstacle?**

I don't think it was a major obstacle.

**In your speech last week you cited education as one of the most important tools in crime-preven-**

**tion. What improvements do you feel need to be implemented in this field?**

I think we need to make sure that teachers are paid a salary that will attract and retain great teachers. I think it's imperative that we make sure our educational system is staffed by teachers who are patient and give all our children an opportunity for an excellent education. I also think we need to educate children not just for tests but with knowledge that will still be valuable as they get older.


**What was it like to serve under President Clinton?**

It was a great privilege because he's one of the brightest men I've ever met. He had a tremendous knowledge of government. He had an extraordinary ability to relate to people.

**Throughout your life you have served in a variety of public positions. What would you consider to be your greatest accomplishment?**

I don't deal in my greatest accomplishments—I just try to deal with how to best solve problems and I let other people decide what my greatest accomplishment was.

**Ms. Reno, from Saturday Night Live to rap music, you enjoy a celebrity status in popular culture. How do you feel about this status?**

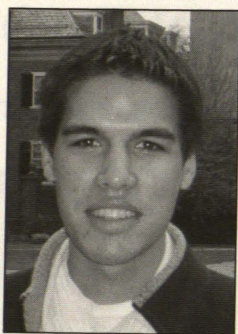
I let other people judge my status in popular culture. 

**"I think the protection of civil liberties is as important as protecting against terrorism."**



*Dearly Departed: Janet Reno, the nation's first female Attorney General as well as the longest-serving of the twentieth century, bids her staff at the Justice Department farewell upon her departure from the office in January 2001.*





## LEGACY PREFERENCE

### *Closing the Back Door to Higher Education*

by Grayson Walker

**A**s competition for the limited number of spots at America's elite colleges and universities increases, both Democrats and Republicans have started to raise serious questions about the fairness and transparency of the policies used to evaluate applicants. Among other criticisms, high-profile politicians in both parties

have spoken out against policies that favor applicants with family ties to a particular college, so-called legacies, over equally or more qualified candidates. Critics argue that legacy preference undermines basic notions about fairness and equal opportunity in a supposedly meritocratic system. Even President George W. Bush (DC '68), who readily admits that he "had to knock on a lot of doors to follow the old man's footsteps," has called for an end to legacy admissions. Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) has offered a bill that seeks to turn this rhetoric into policy by requiring colleges to report racial and socioeconomic data on all admitted legacy students or lose federal funding. While this proposal would not outlaw legacy admissions, Senator Kennedy and others believe that increased transparency will reveal that affluent whites benefit the most from legacy preference policies, which should stir public outrage. If society questions the fairness of affirmative action for blacks, a historically disadvantaged group, imagine the fury over affirmative action policies that favor whites, the most privileged group in U.S. history. By Senator Kennedy's logic, colleges would respond by eliminating policies that reward factors other than academic and extracurricular achievement. Although the specifics of this bill lack bipartisan support, it appears that increasing public skepticism will eventually force Democrats and Republicans to find common ground on the issue of legacy admissions and institute reform.

In the face of mounting public and political pressure, one might think that colleges would make every effort to avoid an ugly showdown. However, most colleges around the country have relied on ambiguous rhetoric

to defend their current practices at a time when reassurances and proclamations of innocence will not quell the growing controversy. Nothing short of full and complete disclosure of admissions practices, including the role of legacy preference, will silence the critics and restore the integrity of America's college and universities. In other words, colleges must prove their innocence with hard evidence and not loose rhetoric. If they will not supply this information voluntarily, the federal government looks poised to take it by force if necessary.

Colleges face a simple choice between ensuring the fairness of their own admissions practices or forcing the government to ensure the fairness of their admissions practices. When faced with this decision, the overwhelming majority of colleges opt for self-regulation. Janet Lavin Rapelye, Deans of Admission at Princeton University, speaks for most of her colleagues by saying, "I would hope that higher education would have the freedom to work this out for the students' best interests without having a federal watchdog over us." Ms. Rapelye's suggestion sounds like a sensible alternative until we remember one important fact: the collegiate community has not taken any substantive action to regulate its own behavior, including the practice of legacy admissions. If colleges don't want the infamous "federal watchdog" intruding on their turf, they must seize the moral high ground on the issue of legacy preference by striving for maximum transparency. Why not voluntarily disclose socioeconomic and racial data about legacy students, thereby substantiating the claim that legacy admissions are largely benign? Why not eliminate the stigma attached to honest, hard working legacy students who earned

*A sophomore in Trumbull College, Grayson Walker plans to major in Economics.*



their way into an elite university? Why not lift the veil of secrecy surrounding legacy admissions and let the government move on to other important educational issues? If the controversy surrounding legacy admissions is overblown, prove your own innocence. By failing to answer any of the preceding questions, colleges prove nothing more than their own stubbornness or their own dishonesty.

Any responsible and well-constructed argument about legacy preference must address the basic ideology underlying the practice. During the 1920s, elite universities such as Harvard, Princeton, and Yale used legacy preference to stem the tide of Jewish and Catholic students applying for admission. As time passed and America fought to eliminate institutionalized discrimination during the 1950s and 60s, legacy preference found a new, secular justification—money—thanks to the fiscal and administrative blundering of Yale University. In a new book entitled *"The Chosen: Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900 to Today,"* Jerome Karabel chronicles Yale's experiment with eliminating legacy preference during the 1960s. Karabel argues that R. Inslee Clark, Yale's Dean of Admissions from 1966-1970, presided over a courageous but failed attempt to roll back the influence of legacy preference. By 1967, Clark had reduced the number of legacy sons in the freshman class to 12%. Although 12% does not seem particularly low, Karabel points out that Clark "brought the admissions rate of legacy applicants closer to that of non-legacy applicants than at any point in Yale's history." But Clark's high ideals were impeded by an insurgent campaign from Yale wealthy alumni who threatened to withhold financial support at a time of near insolvency. Noted alumnus William F. Buckley summarized the outrage by declaring that "the son of an alumnus, who goes to private preparatory school, now has less chance of getting in than some boy from P.S. 109 somewhere!" Yale abandoned Clark's experiment shortly after his departure in 1970 and quietly readopted a policy that favored legacies. According to Karabel, other elite universities

took note of Yale's failed attempt to eliminate legacy preference and learned an important lesson: "the costs of seriously encroaching on alumni privileges are simply too high." As a result, elite universities entrenched legacy preference as a means to ensure fiscal stability.

In recent years, the purely economic justification of legacy preference has lost much of its persuasive weight. As a result, defenders of legacy admissions now modify their argument by saying that financial support from alumni benefits all students. For example, wealthier colleges often adopt need-based financial aid policies that promise to meet 100% of a student's demonstrated financial need through scholarships, grants, loans, and work study programs. The current defense of legacy preference holds that such generous policies would not be possible without alumni contributions. In other words, non-legacy students and parents of modest financial means should not criticize a policy that actually helps them. However, this argument fails on multiple levels, starting with the fact that most universities downplay the relationship between admission, legacy or non-legacy, and financial gift giving. Richard Shaw, Yale College Dean of Admissions, argues that the Office of Development, which oversees alumni donations, "would never suggest a candidate for admission," but does admit that "a long tradition of giving [will] certainly be taken in consideration." For the sake of argument, assume that some student gets into Yale based on the extraordinary magnitude of his family's generosity and the money helps support need-based financial aid programs. Even this benevolent end cannot justify the unfair means used to favor the legacy student over other highly-qualified applicants. Any time a less-qualified legacy student receives an unfair edge, another applicant will pay the price. In the end, altruistic ends cannot justify the immoral manipulation of applicants.

Those who defend legacy preference for financial reasons also harm the collective reputation of alumni. The mere suggestion that alumni would decrease financial support without a preference

**"In order to preserve the integrity and fairness of admissions decisions, elite colleges and universities should strive to make the process as transparent as possible without compromising anyone's privacy."**



**"If society questions the fairness of affirmative action for blacks, a historically disadvantaged group, imagine the fury over affirmative action policies that favor whites, the most privileged group in U.S. history."**

for legacies grossly underestimates the generosity, motives, and moral decency of many donors. While I understand that some alumni would close their checkbooks after a policy change, I believe that the overwhelming majority of alumni donate because they support the educational mission of their alma mater independent of any under-the-table favors. Petty donors do not control the funds to support higher education, and universities can and should set policy without fear of alumni reprisal. If my conclusions prove misguided and colleges *do* need legacy admissions to maintain financial stability, society faces serious problems about how to fund higher education in an equitable and transparent way.

Critics of legacy preference often use the argument recently expounded by politicians in both major parties—legacy admissions undermine basic notions about fairness and equal opportunity in American society. American democracy prides itself on creating an environment that rewards intelligence, hard work, and honesty. Policies that reward legacy over merit represent dangerous bastions of discrimination in a supposedly equal-opportunity society. Senator John Edwards (D-NC) has gone so far as to call legacy preference "a birthright out of 18<sup>th</sup>-century British aristocracy, not 21<sup>st</sup>-century American democracy." Granted, America has supported policies that reward factors other than merit (most notably racial

preference), but only in the name of expanding opportunities for the underprivileged and underrepresented. Moreover, even the strongest proponents of racial preference long for the day when certain racial groups do not need a special set of rules to overcome historical disadvantages. In other words, the rationale behind affirmative action anticipates its eventual dissolution in favor of merit-based standards as previously underrepresented groups take advantage of increased opportunities. Legacy preference, unlike racial preference, increases opportunities for a group of students that has enjoyed unparalleled opportunities since birth. This disturbing and indefensible result has led some critics to call legacy preference "affirmative action for whites." Have whites experienced unjust historical disadvantages that stand in need of rectification? Even defenders of legacy preference would have to answer the previous question with a resounding *no*. Whites have enjoyed a privileged position at the top of its socioeconomic hierarchy since America's founding. Therefore, affirmative action for whites is simply unnecessary and utterly indefensible.

President George W. Bush's recent denunciation of legacy preference follows from his opposition to racial preference for blacks at the University of Michigan in 2003. If one does not support affirmative action for blacks, one cannot reasonably support affirmative action for whites.



*Family Inheritance: The Bush family watches election returns. George H.W. Bush's sterling reputation at Yale helped pave the way for his son's admission to the University.*




Thus, Mr. Bush had to denounce legacy preference when pressed by journalists of color at the Unity Conference in August 2004 to remain consistent and credible. Derrick Jackson of the Boston Globe points out that Mr. Bush "never volunteered during his presidency that legacy admission are divisive, unfair, and impossible to square with the Constitution" This fact raises serious questions about the authenticity of Mr. Bush's position; it is entirely possible to be on the right side of an issue for the wrong reasons. Regardless of Mr. Bush's commitment to the issue, Senator Kennedy and others appeared ready to confront the problem of institutionalized affirmative action for whites.

With political pressure mounting, elite universities offer only small, nebulous statements about their policies surrounding legacy admissions. Richard Shaw, Yale College Dean of Admissions, says, "The reality is that if you are a son or daughter of a Yale College alum, you have a slight edge." Yet how do we explain this *slight* edge when Shaw claims that legacy applications are not read in a separate group and receive no preferential treatment? Also, recall Shaw's earlier statement about the separation between the Office of Undergraduate Admissions and the Office of Development. Simply put, how does Shaw know which applicants to favor?

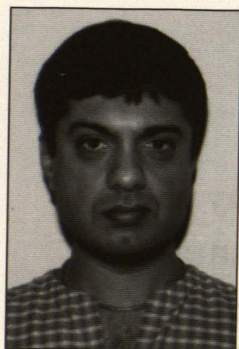
When pressed on the discontinuities and/or ambiguities in his statements, Shaw responds with a clever avoidance tactic: "The myth [...] that depending on the amount [of money] you give, regardless of how you do in high school, you get in—that's wrong." So Yale does not *completely* compromise its standards for legacy applicants, but Shaw fails to explain the nuances behind the larger problem of a *slight* legacy edge. Perhaps Shaw would agree with a Harvard admissions officer who states that "legacy can cure the sick, but it can't raise the dead." Countless other admissions officials around the country use equally evasive language to explain the influence of legacy preference, but this rhetoric does nothing to allay the suspicions of students, parents, and politicians. Moreover, statistics about the number of students with legacy connections fail to settle the debate. Aggregating all

legacy students into one group does not reveal anything about the *slight edge* in question; many legacies gain acceptance into elite colleges based on the strength of their own merits. The crux of the problem lies with those legacy applicants who receive a slight, or not so slight, boost from their alumni connections. Admissions offices nationwide offer no data about this most controversial and unfair aspect of legacy admissions.

In order to preserve the integrity and fairness of admissions decisions, elite colleges and universities should strive to make the process as transparent as possible without compromising anyone's privacy. The entire controversy surrounding legacy admissions comes down to one of two scenarios: (1) legacy admissions play only a small role at most universities and revealing more data will quiet the critics or (2) legacy admissions play a significant role at most universities, in which case mandatory disclosure will disgrace many institutions that should represent America's best, not America's worst. Many political issues fade into the background when partisanship stands in the way of reform, but certain issues resurface time and again as unresolved problems worsen. If universities continue to guard socioeconomic, racial, and meritocratic data about their legacy students, suspicion will continue to grow and the federal government seems likely to order full disclosure. I believe that the government exists to make everyone's life better. This does not mean that the government should control the average citizen's life in a quasi-socialistic way; rather, the government should limit itself to expanding opportunity for all citizens and correcting gross inequities where one group benefits at another group's expense. Both Democrats and Republicans want to believe in the integrity of America's colleges and universities, but ambiguous words, empty declarations, and good faith promises will not suffice anymore. No one, including university officials, wants to see more bureaucracy or government control, but unless elite colleges and universities reform their own practices and voluntarily disclose more data, government intervention seems imminent. 

**"Why not voluntarily disclose socioeconomic and racial data about legacy students, thereby substantiating the claim that legacy admissions are largely benign? Why not eliminate the stigma attached to honest, hard working legacy students who earned their way into an elite university?"**





## GLOBALIZATION AND APOCALYPSE

### *Has Globalization Replaced Internationalism?*

by Faisal Devji

**D**espite its current publicity, globalization remains curiously undefined as an analytical or historical category. On the one hand it seems to evoke the primacy of movement, whether of people, goods, ideas or money, that has supposedly increased to an unprecedented level both in rapidity and in extent. On the other hand,

globalization evokes a theory of capitalism that would enclose all the social possibilities and experiential implications of such movement in a singular history of economic reach. In either case, this movement is supposed to be made possible in large part by new technologies, which thus mediate it as a kind of ever-renewed present: globalization as the newest of the new.

But the problem with conceiving of globalization as a movement mediated by technology into some ever-renewed present is that it ceases to have a past, properly speaking. This is because the difference between its form of movement and any other is one of degree rather than of kind. For instance, how is the internet more illustrative of globalization than the telegraph? Or today's virtual economy more global than yesterday's finance capitalism? No matter how radical their repercussions, do the new technologies mark new beginnings, or do they simply exist in the wake of older ones? This problem of historical and analytical regress exists only because accounts of globalization tend to be seduced both by the narcissism of the present, and by the glamorous novelty of objects or experiences, in the process quite dispensing with the term's intellectual genealogy. Such narcissism of the present and glamorization of experience might well bear witness to globalization, but they do little to interpret it.

Let us take ideas seriously by asking when it was that the globe, and therefore the possibility of globalization, ceased to be a classroom model or a geographical abstraction and became real. At what point did the globe part company with the notion of world, itself con-

nected to a particular religious history in terms like worldliness, to become a new beginning? Languages like French, of course, continue to derive *globalization* (*mondialisation*) from the older notion of *world* (*monde*), thus linking it back to another kind of history. Nevertheless there is a point when we can say that the globe becomes, as it were, global, a point which for our purposes we can locate during the Cold War. This is illustrated by the two great technological events of that time: the atom bomb and the moon landing, both of which literally permitted us not only to grasp and see the globe as such, but also and in the same moment to destroy and abandon it. The globe, then, like the commodity of earlier times, is known only in the moment of its consumption as something destroyed or abandoned. And this apocalyptic manner of knowing the globe allows thought in general, and religious thought in particular, to emerge from a world divided in terms of public and private, secular and sacred, to contemplate as real something that had been denied legitimacy for two centuries: the end of the world. It is in the rapture of apocalypse that the world is destroyed and the globe is born, even if only as the ghost of this world.

The birth of the globe during the Cold War did not go unnoticed, its implications being noted by Hannah Arendt among others. In an essay on Karl Jaspers, who had himself expounded the phenomenology of a nuclear apocalypse, Arendt wrote about the ironic unity of the globe that the atom bomb had made possible:

*It is true, for the first time in history all peoples on earth have a common present: no event of any importance in the history of one country can remain a marginal accident in the history of any other. Every country has become the almost immediate neighbor of every other country, and every man feels the shock of events which take place at the other side of the globe. But this common factual present is not based on a common past and does not in the*

*Faisal Devji is a Singh Visiting Lecturer in the Department of History at Yale University. Recently he served as the head of graduate studies at the Institute of Ismaili Studies.*



least guarantee a common future. Technology, having provided the unity of the world, can just as easily destroy it and the means of global communication were designed side by side with means of possible global destruction. (Arendt 1995, 83).

The question Hannah Arendt tackles in her essay is not the practical one of how to prevent an apocalypse, but rather a question about the new experience that such an apocalypse brings into being. Apocalypse itself is not the brute fact of nuclear destruction (or the biological and ecological holocausts that are its heirs) so much as the general thinking and experience of the globe that this destruction makes possible. For instance, according to Arendt the unity of the globe that technology produces is purely negative because it is based neither on a common past or future, relying instead on an evacuated present as a kind of apocalyptic effect. One of the issues I want to explore in this paper is how such an effect allows religion to situate itself at the heart of the global on the basis of what has always been its own stock in trade, annihilation.

The globe becomes real at the same time as humanity, which serves both as the agent and the victim of its possible destruction. For mankind is now no longer an ideal or an abstraction, but a reality too insofar as it is capable of being destroyed. (Arendt 1995, 82). Indeed the technology of destruction and abandonment itself, in its sheer instrumentality, undoes the particularity of origins and ownership, so that in a certain sense it is mankind, and not America, which becomes the true agent of global events like the atom bomb or moon landing. So it was entirely appropriate that Neil Armstrong, when first stepping upon the surface of the moon, should speak of taking a small step for man and a giant leap for mankind. After all, in the face of global destruction or abandonment the particular ownership of that act is also destroyed, leaving behind only humanity as its combined agent and victim. Hannah Arendt, remarking upon the new reality of mankind, has this to say:

*Our political concepts, according to which we have to assume responsibility for all public affairs within our reach regardless of personal "guilt," because we are held respon-*

*sible as citizens for everything that our government does in the name of the country, may lead us into an intolerable situation of global responsibility. (Arendt 1995, 83).*

Again the form globalization takes in this interpretation allows religion to return to its old theme of moral responsibility by raising the question of what it means to act in such a situation, and indeed how action is at all possible. Here is another issue that I want to explore in this paper. Both issues, that of apocalyptic effect and that of human responsibility, situate religion at the heart of the global because they have suddenly ceased to be the arcane speculations of private conscience to become matters of public attention and welfare. And this only became possible once the old order, which was based upon managing an economy of living needs and interests that were bifurcated into public and private, secular and sacred, found itself upstaged by totalities like apocalypse and humanity, which destroyed the particularities of life and economy both.

I have been arguing so far that the Cold War provided the origins of globalization as this term is used today. It did so by replacing the world with the globe and man by mankind, all within the horizon demarcated by an apocalyptic technology, whose power subordinated all links with the past to the false unity of a global present. Globalization itself came to replace internationalism, which had been the ideology both of the Euro-

**"Mankind is no longer an ideal or an abstraction, but a reality, capable of being destroyed."**

*Puppet of Globalization: German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder gestures during 1999 talks on the "Challenge of Globalization" in Tokyo. Devji argues that because of globalization's constant evolution, it has no true past.*





## INTERNATIONAL

*Global Giant: A Tokyo man rides past an advertisement for Sony's personal computer, Vaio. Sony represents one of the largest commercial products of globalization.*

**"We are held responsible as citizens for everything that our government does in the name of the country, possibly leading to an intolerable situation of global responsibility."**

pean empires and of the Communist bloc. These orders were international because they were based on the expansion of a substance (civilization, justice, power, democratic institutions and the like) in territories that were connected either by contiguity or by historical and political intention. Globalization, on the other hand, depends neither on the expansion of a substance, nor upon links of intention, but precisely on the unintended effects and consequences that make up its universal present. Hannah Arendt, referring to the false unity of this global present, puts it like this:

*It is difficult to deny that at this moment the most potent symbol of the unity of mankind is the remote possibility that atomic weapons used by one country according to the political wisdom of a few might ultimately come to be the end of all human life on earth. (Arendt 1995, 83).*

Now the apocalyptic tone of Cold War thinking might have dissipated today, but it is best to remember that globalization came to be only with the "remote possibility" of its nuclear holocaust (and its biological and ecological twins), which thus continues to inform contemporary notions of the global. Media, for example, continually ape the apocalyptic effect that Arendt describes in the quotation above, because they bring together widely scattered constituencies in the contemplation of an event with which they have no real connection, and which is not even a substance spread by connections of contiguity or intention. The rupture with internationalism here is absolute because the global effect of media is not due to consequences that go beyond particular intentions (as in all previous theories of structural agency). It is rather due to the false unity of a present made possible by events that can only function randomly once

separated from local contexts.

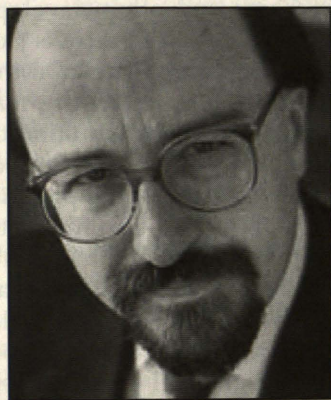
Having described the Cold War emergence of what is today called globalization, Hannah Arendt raises the problem of what it might mean to belong in such a universe. She seems to advocate the theory of pluralism and universal communication propounded by Karl Jaspers, but writes about this in an almost elegiac way, as if recognizing it as a good idea whose time has passed. So the sub-title of her essay on Jaspers ends with a question mark: citizen of the world? Jaspers' theory, after all, remains internationalist, while Arendt was concerned precisely with the end of internationalism in the eternally present and forgetful nature of technological globalization, which puts man and all his acts, especially his political acts, into question. But this questioning, held hostage as it is by the apocalypse, is, if not in itself religious, at the very least monotheistic in its presuppositions, leading straight back to the great traditions of Jewish and Christian political thought. ■





## THE SHIFTING DYNAMICS OF WORLD POWER

An Interview with Bill Emmott



**B**ill Emmott is Editor-in-Chief of *The Economist*. He began working for the newspaper in 1982, reporting from Tokyo and London before ascending to his current post in 1993. Mr. Emmott has written three best-selling books on Japan, including *20-21 Vision: The Lessons of the Twentieth Century for the Twenty-First*. He spoke with *The Politic* following his on-campus talk, "The United States and the World: An Update on The Economist Survey."

**Traditionally it seems that Islamic countries are ruled by theocracies, monarchies and dictatorships, and there is resistance to forming democratic governments. Many people suggest that this is because Islam and democracy are incompatible; do you believe this is true? If not, how do we proceed in supporting Islamic moderates and assisting Iraq in its development of a democratic government?**

On the first question, Islam is compatible with democracy. The real question is whether the adherents and clerics of Islam wish it to be compatible to democracy. I don't think there is anything inherent in the doctrines of Islam which prevent a western type division between the laws of God and the laws of man from taking place. But the question is whether or not the power holders in Islam wish that to develop. In principle Christianity could be on a literal interpretation incompatible with democracy, but plainly the world has developed in a different way. I think the same potential is there for Islam. There are democracies in which Islam is the principle religion around the world: Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Turkey. I see no reason why that can't be pursued in the future.

However, the question is whether or not the power holders will allow further pursuit of democracy. I don't think that it's possible to direct policy towards empowering moderates and sidelining extremists directly. We just don't have the ability to influence parties in that way. I can't see how the West could expect to manage those outcomes. What I think can be done is to provide an environment with incentives and persuasions on the power holders in the Islamic countries and the public in Islamic countries to move toward a greater degree of accountability and social freedom. It's a question of persuasion and pressure rather than direct answer.

Iran and policies toward Iran have shown in the last decade, even the last five years, simply the absence of levers with which to make that encouragement and marginalization. The pro-reform movement did develop in Iran, but we actually have no means by which to empower that movement, nor any means by which to marginalize the hardliners in Iran. The results now seem to be that the reform movement is weakening, and the hardliners are gaining strength in Iran. Direct talks with President Khatami don't seem to have made a material difference. A general, longer term must be there to offer incentives and rewards to the public in general to try to persuade them to pressure their governments to reform in a more liberal direction.

**Iraq has an opportunity to become a leader among Islamic countries by creating a successful democratic government. What form do you believe will be the most sustainable?**

A sustainable system in Iraq is likely to be federal because I do not think it will be possible for a strong central government to impose its will on the provinces and different groups in Iraq in the short term. What ten years or twenty years time holds is inherently unpredictable. In the intermediate time, a federal system will be necessary. The crucial question is whether or not the provinces will be willing to allow the central government to use resources and revenue raising power to finance the building of national security forces and policing forces adequate to impose law and order and to reduce the insurgency. That will be the balancing act in creating a new democracy there.

**As *The Economist* recently has noted, Syria is 'wilting a bit' under American pressure to stop**

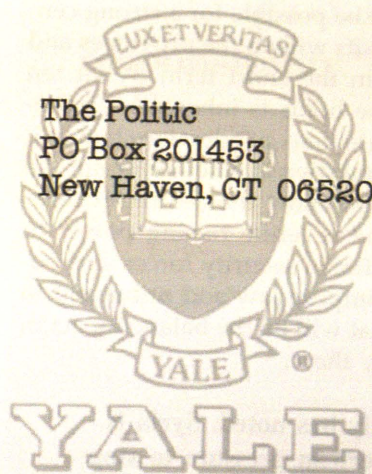


Get the best  
undergraduate  
political magazine  
in the nation  
delivered to your  
door:

## SUBSCRIBE TO The POLITIC

- \$25 for a one-year subscription (4 issues)
- \$40 for a two-year subscription (8 issues)

To subscribe, go to  
[www.thepolitic.org](http://www.thepolitic.org), or  
mail a check with your  
name and address to:



The Politic  
PO Box 201453  
New Haven, CT 06520

**backing terrorism. Will Damascus give in as Tripoli has done?**

It depends, in the end, on what happens in Iraq, and whether policy in the immediate term proves to be successful in changing the political and strategic environment in the region and therefore Syria's border, thereby strengthening America's mission in the region as well; Or whether it goes in the opposite direction. I think Syria is backing both horses, in other words, it's attempting to preserve its options depending on what the outcome might be.

**Throughout Europe the Muslim population is surging; indeed, by some estimates, in 2050 Muslims will outnumber non-Muslims in France. How will this demographic explosion remodel European domestic politics and foreign policy?**

The first thing to say is that even demographic statistics are inherently unpredictable. So I don't know that that will be the case in 2050.

Europe is becoming more of a multicultural collection of societies, in which France and Britain have different degrees of multiculturalism and different approaches to it, between the assimilation approach and the integration approach in particular. I think that will continue to be the case because I think Europe will keep evolving in a multicultural direction. The principal effect of the existing enlargement of the population and likely increase in population will be to preserve and to amplify that multicultural approach in Europe.

If that were the case now, that is, if France had a majority Muslim population now, France would be even less likely to support American policy in Iraq. But I can't forecast what European foreign policy in the Middle East in 2050 will be because I don't know the challenges that will be in the Middle East at that time.

**Why are oil prices continuing to climb? Will China disrupt America's web of alliances in the Middle East? Will Chinese demand eliminate**

**Saudi's spare capacity, helping to break OPEC?**

I think oil prices are continuing to climb because of demand factors and supply factors. Demand has been increasing strongly in China and other developing countries and with the recovery of the world economy in general. On the supply side, there are plainly big reasons to worry about the disruption of supply. These include the actual restrictions of supply that are taking place in Nigeria and Gulf of Mexico, failures to increase output in Iraq, and a reasonable and perfectly well justified fear that terrorism or other conflict could reduce supply. Hence speculation should bet on higher oil prices anticipating the shock in supply. So that's what has driven up the price. Whether it will continue to go up in the future will depend more on the supply side than the demand side. I think a big explanation for the fact that the oil price has gone up sixty percent since January is Chinese demand. Chinese demand is a long term factor, not a short term one. The volatility of the oil price is really about the stability of the situation in Iraq and terrorism.

I don't think that China is likely to disrupt American policy in the Middle East. China will wish to directly secure some supplies of oil and gas through contracts. It will also direct its foreign policy increasingly in the future towards ensuring that the market supply of oil remains an open market. That actually aligns Chinese policy with American policy. I actually think what we are seeing is a convergence of interests between China and the West. The real question is: what might other countries do in reaction to a failure in supply? And then there's a big question of what China might do to deal with a failure in the oil market.

**What role is China playing in the North Korea imbroglio?**

Well, China is an important source of information about North Korea, and a source of some pressure on North Korea through economic and technological aid that it supplies, as well as China's role in making the multilateral,



six-bodies talks happen, and in providing some sort of confidence about the level of ignorance about what's going on North Korea.

Beyond that though, China has a limited ultimate power to prevent North Korea going nuclear because one reason that North Korea might go nuclear is North Korea's relationship with China itself, seeing as China is a nuclear-armed neighbor. China is one of the three reasons why North Korea could have the potential to go nuclear, and, provided the fact that China's leverage in North Korea is loose rather than direct, I think that China has a rather limited degree of control over North Korea. China is one of the persuaders, one of the pressures, but it even has a lack of complete confidence in American strategy in North Korea and a lack of confidence in exactly what outcome America wishes to find in North Korea. Therefore, it's not perfectly aligned with American policy.


**Will the war on terror distract the United States from the greater threat posed by the return of great-power rivalries among the United States, Europe and Asia?**

Well, we don't know whether it's a greater threat or not, so I don't know whether it's a distraction. In a *deliberalizing*, liberal world, great powers rivalries may be more noticeable than they were in history in the past, and less dangerous, less threatening. The real question, I guess, is whether or not that liberal environment persists and whether the great powers continue to think that it's in their interest for that liberal environment to persist. Personally, I am not confident that there is a sort of danger of great power rivalry of the sort that you describe. What I do think is that for the liberal globalizing world to be maintained, the balance of power within the world is going to have to become more equal as between the US, China, India, Israel, and other large countries. The structure of world governance, which has been essentially



an American-led and American-dominated form of collective security since 1945, will have to change because the American-led part of it will diminish in its effectiveness as other parts of the world gain in economic and political power. It will cease to be capable of being such a strongly American-led system.

**In terms of historical perspective, how substantial is our allies' current lack of support?**

There are two levels of it: rancor and significance. In terms of rancor, it's probably worse. In terms of significance, I'm not sure that it is as bad. Everything will depend on what will happen next in Iraq. I think that the rancor of Iraq is serious but not important. It wasn't actually a desire that really had a big impact on policy or indeed I expect much impact on the situation in Iraq itself – by which I mean: had the Iraq invasion taken place with greater support from European countries, I don't think the aftermath would have been any likelier to be successful. Particularly, given the short term, I don't think it had much importance. Obviously the importance of the distribution of the burden and the distribution of the casualties would have been impacted, but I don't think it greatly influenced policy as such. Where it may have a bearing is in future willingness between the allies to help each other in crises – that remains to be seen. 

***Double Trouble:** Afghanistan's newly-elected President Hamid Karzai delivers a speech while vice presidents Ahmad Zia Masood and Karim Khalili look on. Now that Afghanistan has held its first-ever presidential elections, only time will tell if their democracy will be sustainable.*





## RACE AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

*Paradigm or Inevitable Collapse?*

by Sarah Cannon

**H**ow democratic has South Africa become since the end of apartheid ten years ago? This is the question I wanted to have answered when I left for South Africa last June. Understanding South Africa's seemingly peaceful transition to democracy seemed essential to comprehend the relationship between ethnic pluralism and democracy.

Additionally, the South African case seemed to be relevant in understanding the prospects for democracy in other African countries. While reflecting on my fascination with South Africa, I realized that I am most drawn to South Africa's unique racial situation. South Africa has often been called "the genocide that didn't happen." I could not understand how apartheid could have happened in the first place, nor how a country begins to move forward from such a horrific past. How could democracy evolve from institutions which embodied racial prejudice and individuals who ran a government which implemented the systematic segregation of blacks and whites? Personally and intellectually, the complexity of race in South Africa is what I thought I needed to understand to comprehend what democracy meant to South Africa. Therefore, I spent the summer researching Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment and how that reflected the legitimacy of democracy in South Africa. Clearly, race relations are not a valid indicator of whether or not democracy functions in a country. However, investigating how the current South African government, whose goal was to create a "non-racial democracy," has dealt with race did present fascinating insights into the democratic process in South Africa.

Before I left the States, I was told that there was no way I could understand race in South Africa until I understood the complexity of South African history and that the problem of apartheid extended well beyond black versus white. While analyzing the government's Labor Force Survey on my first day at the University of

Cape Town, I came across the term "Coloured." I was immediately shocked and assumed it was a derogatory term as it is in the States, but in actuality it is one of the four racial groups recognized by the South African government. During apartheid, every citizen was forced to carry an identification card which displayed their racial status; White, African, Coloured or Indian/Asian. Today, these are the four categorizations the government still uses to classify the racial background of individuals. I could not understand why people would continue to identify themselves based on delineations created to support institutionalized racism. Nor did I understand that the term black included Asians, Indians and Coloureds, a result of the black consciousness movement. African was the term used to define black Africans. Then, if you are white and live in Africa, are you not African? From that first day, I realized that my own frame of reference would have to be disaggregated and reconstructed to understand anything about race in the South African context.

Beyond recognizing the importance of language, I began to understand the way South Africans were able to recognize the horrors of the past, talk about them and then move forward without erasing the tragedy of apartheid from their collective memory. South Africans of all races speak openly about race in a way I have never experienced in the United States. In the absence of politically correct terminology and a desire to really get to the core of the matter, South Africans are able to confront the racism that is engrained in their society. Are they only able to face racism because it is a necessity for the survival of their country or is it a fear of the repercussions if race isn't talked about? Every single day I spent in South Africa my feelings about race and democracy could only be defined as melancholic. Not a day passed where I was not both inspired by the way

*Sarah Cannon is a Junior in Silliman College majoring in Ethics, Politics, and Economics. Her interests include ethnic conflict and post-conflict justice and reconciliation.*



South Africa has genuinely tried to overcome national tragedy and empower its people, and horrified that the country could collapse into violence. Is South Africa sustainable?

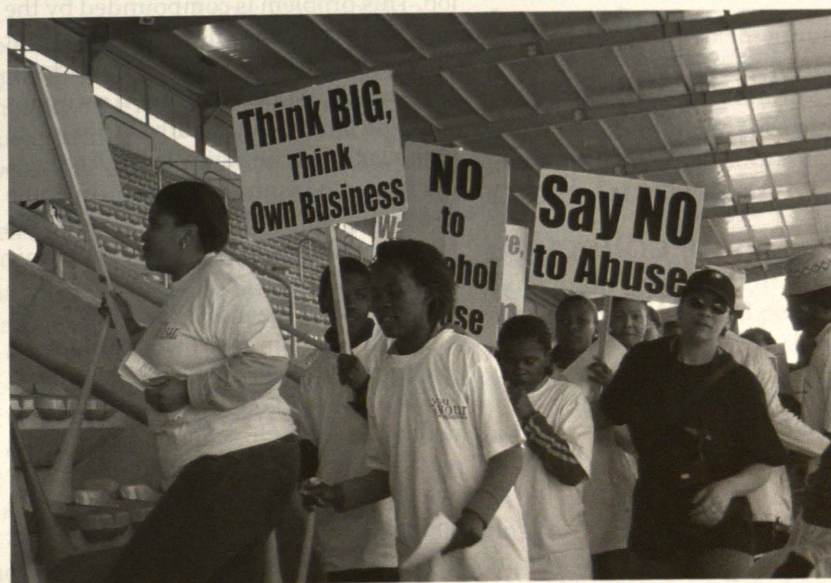
Living in Cape Town, I was faced daily with the massive inequality that still falls along racial lines. Downtown Cape Town is like any international, cosmopolitan city and is surrounded by townships (shantytowns) like the Cape Flats which extend for miles and miles. The downtown area is primarily white and the townships are segregated into black or coloured areas with millions living in poverty. Besides this powerful visual and geographic divide in the city, there is clearly a related economic divide which was supported by my research about Affirmative Action.

Affirmative Action in South Africa is very different from Affirmative Action in the United States. In South Africa, it is designed to integrate the black majority into the economy and academic institutions rather than to secure the rights of minorities. South Africa's current racial composition is 75.2 percent black, 13.6 percent white, 8.6 percent Coloured, and 2.6 percent Indian. Until 1994, blacks and coloureds were excluded from most jobs beyond unskilled labor. My project while working at the Center for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town was to look at how education and certain sectors of the economy had been successfully integrated since 1994. Although the University of Cape Town campus itself is much whiter than I would have expected, over the past ten years the largest percentage of students shifted from being white males to black females. This is miraculous within only ten years and largely a result of Affirmative Action policy. Just over 50 percent of the students in higher education are women and close to 75 percent are black (African, coloured, Indian) students. However, similar representation in the faculty and administration is still lacking. While overall gender parity has been achieved, women remain underrepresented in a number of key areas of study, such as science, engineering and technology, and in postgraduate studies more generally.

In the South African labor force, the

private sector remains largely white while the public sector is now dominated by black Africans. This is primarily because the African National Congress, the leading political party to which both Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki belong, has forced the employment of blacks in the public sector through rigorous Affirmative Action policy. Africans make up 72 percent of public service employees at all levels which is almost representative of the population demographics. The ANC government has also created the Black Economic Empowerment program which is designed to encourage black leadership and black ownership of companies. If a company is at least 25.1 percent owned by black persons and there is substantial management control by blacks, they can call themselves a "Black Powered Company." This allows them to more easily acquire government contracts and attract foreign direct investment. Though the Black Eco-

**"South Africa has often been called the genocide that didn't happen."**



omic Empowerment program extends beyond titles such as a "Black Powered Company" and offers training and job placements for blacks, it seems to have been ineffective in the private sector. Although there may be black ownership of corporations, there is a small elite of wealthy black men on the Boards of Directors for multiple companies in which nearly all lower-level managers are white. According to a recent report released by the Commission for Employment Equity, black people

*Lingering Discontent: South Africans protest the country's racially-stratified economic system almost two decades after the end of apartheid.*



**"South Africans  
were able to  
recognize the  
horrors of the  
past, talk about  
them and then  
move forward  
without erasing  
the tragedy of  
apartheid from  
their collective  
memory."**

held only 22 percent of senior management positions in South Africa in 2002, with black women still struggling to escape the lower rungs. The report, which analyzed and compared employment equity reports submitted in 2000 and 2002, found that there was 'limited improvement' relating to employment practices and race. Lawyers, doctors, social workers, and professors are still predominately white professions, and the real problem is that as a result of apartheid most blacks have not received enough education to have sufficient job qualifications. In fact, 70 percent of the South African population over age 20 has not completed secondary schooling, reflecting a crisis in human capital. The percentage of unemployed university graduates grew from 6 percent in 1995 to 15 percent in 2002 for the general population, and for Africans this grew from 10 percent to 26 percent. Even if you are able to attend university, you are not guaranteed a job. This problem is compounded by the 41.8 percent unemployment rate that already plagues South Africa and is exaggerated by the surge of refugees flooding down into South Africa, seen as the land of economic plenty. At times, my research inspired me because of the dramatic steps the government has taken to address widespread economic inequality and racial injustice, but these problems also seem insurmountable. By the end of the summer I wondered, for a freedom and justice which was so hard to obtain, how long are South Africans willing to wait for economic and social equality in their daily lives? For jobs? For healthcare? Democracy is a slow process and racial equality may be discussed, but is certainly not a reality in terms of economic opportunity.

Before driving to the airport on my last day in Cape Town, I visited the District Six Museum which seemed to encapsulate all the emotions and thoughts I had struggled with over the two months I spent in South Africa. District Six is a part of Cape Town which was established in 1867 as a community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants. By the beginning of the twentieth century, marginalization and removals had started. Africans were forcibly removed

from the area in 1901, and in 1950 District Six was declared a whites-only area. By 1982, 60,000 people were forcibly removed, their houses flattened by bulldozers, and forced to live in the Cape Flats townships a few miles away. The museum itself was created in 1994 to work with the memories and experiences of those affected. The floor of the museum is covered in a map of District Six, which was created as former residents planned together from memory. The walls of the museum are lined with street signs and pictures people took when they left. Downstairs is the chronology of the events that led to the forced removals and the legislation passed by the South African government over the past century. The side rooms are recreations of barber shops and bedrooms and churches as people remember them. This museum, which was created based upon the memories of individuals, is truly attempting to achieve the unthinkable. This museum represents the South African project; to discuss, to remember, to grieve and to work collectively towards the future. The South African government has recently begun building housing in District Six which will be open to South African citizens of every race. South Africa as a nation is moving forward without forgetting to look back. But how long will South Africans wait?

My question about the prospects for democracy in South Africa was not answered by my experience there this summer. Instead, I have new questions. Will South Africa be the paradigm of democracy and set an example for the reconciliation of ethnic tensions and democracy, or will this country face a similar horror to that in Zimbabwe, where the white ethnic minority has been largely killed or forced to leave the country as a result of President Mugabe's land reform program? Do black South Africans have enough faith in the government and in the nation to tolerate the inequality and racism that still penetrates South African society? The question of how ethnic pluralism and democracy can be reconciled is essential to the success of democracy worldwide. I hope South Africa will present a solution instead of another tragedy. ■





## REFUSING TO MAKE A FETISH OUT OF FORGIVENESS

*A Review of Ellis Cose's Bone to Pick*

by Irshad Manji

**M**onths ago, I visited a hastily constructed wall next to the World Trade Center site. On that wall, people scrawled personal messages. I expected to read more than a few expressions of victimization, resentment and revenge. What I found was the opposite: thousands of messages celebrating life and love. Somebody

drew a Cross, a Crescent and Star of David weeping. Another wrote, "We're all the same color when we turn out the lights." One goofball stuck chewed bubblegum to the wall. But he shaped it into a heart.

If individuals from Kansas to Kosovo to Kuwait could show such a capacity for mercy, then might their communities and countries be able to go there too? I remember asking that question quietly. Since then, I've been searching for public intellectuals with the courage to address it aloud.

God bless Ellis Cose for doing so. A veteran journalist and commentator on equality issues, Cose has traveled the world for hints about what it takes to heal from brutality. He attends truth and reconciliation commissions of Peru and South Africa. He observes mediation techniques inspired by Aboriginal people in New Zealand. The Untouchables, India's most despised outcasts, have success stories to share, as do parents of murdered children in America. The result is *Bone to Pick*, an extended essay about "forgiveness, reconciliation, reparations and revenge."

Although these themes are timeless, they feel urgent. With debates beginning over what type of trial Saddam Hussein should stand, with beheadings becoming a tactic of choice for al-Qaeda, and with George W. Bush's detractors implicating the United States and its allies in their own crimes against humanity, Cose's calm contribution is needed now more than ever.

Be warned, though; it's an emotionally exhausting contribution. In the first half of *Bone to Pick*, Cose focuses on individuals and their struggles to come to terms with abuse, abduction and permanent loss. Just when you get the message that forgiveness can be a matter of en-

lightened self-interest and therefore a reasonable possibility, he pulls out another tale of horror. Then another. And another. A seasoned story-teller, Cose doesn't know when to stop.

However, the fusillade of reportage is worth enduring because, at moments throughout, Cose offers us the gift of his nimble mind. He's engaged by the paradoxes of justice and many of his questions honor that complexity. For example, forgiveness is all well and good, but what actions *deserve* it?

Refusing to make a "fetish out of forgiveness," he acknowledges that extending compassion to oppressors is sometimes immoral – unfair to those who might want answers yet have no voice to demand them. Dead people, after all, can't speak for themselves. Rushing to show compassion is also unhelpful to victims who are still alive yet must learn to conquer their submissiveness, such as ritually abused wives. By the same token, Cose suggests, revenge is ineffective against "criminals who want to die." That's a reality check for anyone intending to curb suicide bombings.

Like Cose, I can't side blindly with those presumed to be helpless, hapless victims of The System. While I passionately support an end to the military occupation of the Palestinian territories, I've been disappointed by the tactics that "powerless" Palestinian activists in North America often employ – spitting, kicking and bullying Israel's sympathizers into silence (and consequently into intransigence).

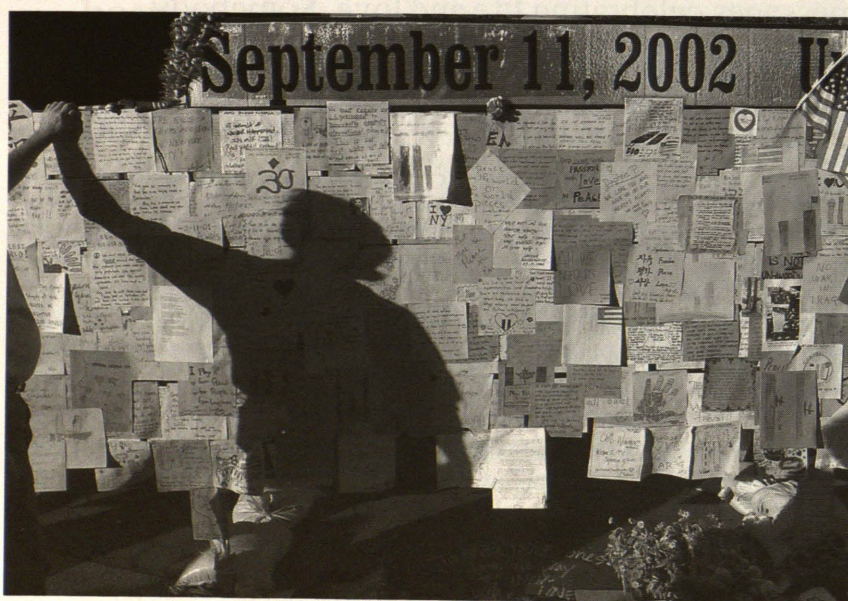
*Bone to Pick* chronicles similar power trips – the Latinos who regularly harassed a minority white kid at school, the mother who played dumb when her husband performed oral sex on their daughter, and Winnie Mandela's crass manipulation of South Africa's truth and reconciliation process. Make no bones about it: Self-defined victims have the capacity, and frequently the

*Irshad Manji is author of The Trouble with Islam: A Muslim's Call for Reform in Her Faith (St. Martin's Press).*



willingness, to be oppressors. Thus the need to tame our universal instinct for vendetta and counter-vendetta. It's an instinct that leads us to a dead end.

Swell, but what's the alternative? For nations, at least, the alternative is to love the future as much as the past. Perhaps the curse behind the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not that Arabs and Jews lay claim to the same land; it's that Arabs and Jews are raised to "never forget." Never forget, that is, the Holocaust (in the case of Jews), the 1948 loss of the war against Israel (in the case of Arabs), the expulsion from Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (in the case of Jews), the sacking of Jerusalem by Christian Crusaders 900 years ago (in the case of Arabs) and on and on.



**Remember:** Richard Coyne, who worked in the rescue efforts after the World Trade Center collapse, posts a memorial letter for a cousin who died in the attack. The notes on the message board do not seek revenge, but instead celebrate life.

Another public intellectual, Yale graduate and Duke University professor Jedediah Purdy, affirms that forgetfulness has value for nation-building. "Forgetfulness keeps people open to the world," he writes in his latest book, *Being America*. "This can seem gracelessly expedient, coming from those who have suffered little, as mainstream Americans have. But what seems expedient is not therefore wrong. Precisely because human history is long and ugly enough to fill the world with resentment, we should not help it do so."

On to the future then. Can the principle of loving the future as much as the past take root in Afghanistan? You'd

think so, given that Afghanistan recently held its first free elections. It now has a representative central authority, headed by President Hamid Karzai. Then again, elections may be a feeble backwater to the tide of history. The famed Muslim sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, concluded that in harsh environments where there's little division of labor, Muslim societies will seek to survive by strengthening bonds of tribal kinship. We have to wonder if Afghans will view tribal leaders as more legitimate than elected bodies — more legitimate because they're more authentic to the Afghan experience. Time will tell.

Meanwhile, those interested in post-war reconstruction, even in Iraq, can glean insights from Cose's round-the-world research. One insight for new governments: Don't just acknowledge crimes against the people; address how to achieve accountability for them. Also, appreciate that religion can be a uniting force. But don't expect miracles! Above all, look for creative ways to restore dignity. At least two American communities ravaged by anti-black riots have experimented with scholarships rather than strict financial payouts to claimants. Such an approach allows people to "move on" without sending the message that the perpetrators are magically absolved because their victims have been paid off.

Against that nuanced backdrop, Cose finally tackles the challenge of reparations for slavery in the United States. Here's where forgetfulness irks him. Cose insists that when Americans say they owe nothing because they didn't personally participate in slavery, they're being hypocritical. "There are people who arrived in America less than a decade ago who — through their payment of taxes, through their participation in the American political process — assume responsibility for myriad things they personally had nothing to do with," Cose writes. "They pay off debts incurred by past presidents; accept treaty obligations negotiated by long-departed diplomats; but they also, for the most part, accept an argument that says, in effect, 'Racial wrongs, and any responsibility to atone for them, do not persist beyond a generation.'"

All of this brings us to a question that




## INTERNATIONAL



**Resurrecting a Nation:** A small Iraqi girl stands clutching her teddy bear just meters away from the site of a suicide car bombing in Baghdad. America cannot afford to avoid reconciliation with the communities that breed terrorists.

seems crucial for our time: What's the difference between knowing your past and being governed by it? It's a question for Americans, sure. Afghans, certainly. But it's most pressing, I think, to ask this question of Arabs who harbor grievances against the West. For this question engenders a host of other pivotal ones. If a U.S. administration owns up to America's historical support of Arab autocracies, then what should be done with that admission? Another invasion to liberate oppressed peoples? The very thought makes many of us cringe. Then would it be enough to end America's support of these dictatorships by pursuing an oil boycott? Does America have a moral duty to compensate victims of Arab government torture? And would Islamists regard such compensation as bribery, villainy and yet more interference in the House of Islam?

"For us in the United States, forgiving those responsible for the slaughter of September 11 is nearly unthinkable," Cose opines. "But what of the wider populations from which these terrorists came with their desperate hatred of the United States? Could we afford not to embark on a journey of forgiveness and reconciliation with these communities?" No, America can't afford to

avoid reconciliation. The question remains how to get there. Step in or butt out? That's what the foreseeable future will be about. 



**Cycle of Violence:** Israeli police maintain order after a suicide attack in Tel Aviv. The Nov. 1 blast killed four and wounds at least ten more. Ellis Cose believes a nation cannot seek revenge against "criminals who want to die."



# AN ELECTORATE AT THE FRINGES

Many concerned citizens argue that the two-party system has stagnated our nation's politics. Democrats and Republicans, they complain, offer the same stale solutions to problems that continue to plague this country. Have moderates on both sides of the aisle kept the United States idling in neutral? Fringe-group politicians – and their vocal constituencies – believe that a radically new path is needed. In the 2004 election, these candidates flew beneath the media radar, but they did make a local impact in communities across the land. Here are some of the counties in which these candidates made a strong showing. Their success is a reminder to “mainstream” America that a threat to their savagely guarded status quo exists in their own backyard.

## THE CANDIDATES

### Michael Badnarik

Libertarian candidate Badnarik emphasized the traditional party positions of free-market solutions, the reduction of government size and power, and individual freedom. His message had particular resonance with voters in North Carolina and in his home state of Indiana, established bastions of conservative sentiment. Badnarik also found friends in Loving, Texas, the country's smallest county. Bush won in a landslide in all three counties that showed strong support for the libertarian crusader.

### Michael Peroutka

Peroutka, taking a page out of the books of Alan Keyes and Pat Buchanan, toured the country under the banner of “Honor God, Defend the Family, and Restore the Republic.” The Religious Right and the paleoconservatives of America found a figure around which to rally in this attorney and activist. Predictably, the Constitution Party candidate did well in the customarily right-wing Mormon areas of Utah. Perhaps more unusually, Peroutka actually *won* the vote in the district of Vinalhaven, Maine, beating out both Kerry and Bush with over 40% of the count.

### Roger Calero

The Socialist Workers Party and its left-wing counterparts have not done particularly well in U.S. elections since World War II, but candidate Calero did win two small moral victories in Vermont. Pockets of supporters netted the socialists respectable third-party numbers in Windsor and Bennington counties.

The 3,141 counties of the United States are shaded according to the percentage of victory in the 2004 presidential election. Lighter counties were won by Sen. Kerry, and darker counties were won by President Bush.

### Landgrove, Vermont

Population: 144  
Racial diversity: 98% white  
Median income: \$39,926  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 27%  
Election results: 76% Kerry, 17% Bush, 7% CALERO

### Vinalhaven, Maine

Population: 1,235  
Racial diversity: 98% white  
Median income: \$36,774  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 26.2%  
Election results: 41% PEROUTKA, 39% Kerry, 19% Bush

### Bridgewater Township, Vermont

Population: 980  
Racial diversity: 98% white  
Median income: \$40,688  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 30.2%  
Election results: 50% Kerry, 43% Bush, 6% CALERO

### Chowan County, North Carolina

Population: 14,433  
Racial diversity: 61% white, 38% black  
Median income: \$30,928  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 16%  
Election results: 45% Bush, 36% Kerry, 19% BADNARIK

### Franklin County, Indiana

Population: 22,773  
Racial diversity: 99% white  
Median income: \$43,530  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 12%  
Election results: 70% Bush, 23% Kerry, 7% BADNARIK

### Juab County, Utah

Population: 8,792  
Racial diversity: 97% white, 2% Hispanic  
Median income: \$38,139  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 12%  
Election results: 78% Bush, 18% Kerry, 3% PEROUTKA

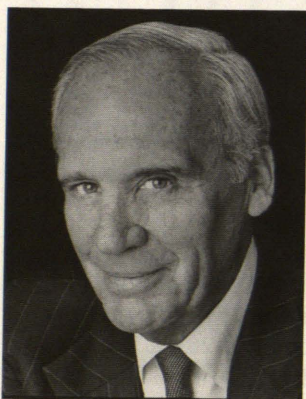
### Loving County, Texas

Population: 62  
Racial diversity: 90% white, 10% Hispanic  
Median income: \$40,000  
% of residents age 25+ with at least a bachelor's degree: 6%  
Election results: 81% Bush, 15% Kerry, 4% BADNARIK

Note: Data for Bridgewater Township (except for population) is for Windsor County, VT, the county in which the township resides. Data for Landgrove Township (except for population) is for Bennington County, VT, the county in which the township resides.

Sources: CNN.com, U.S. Census Bureau





## A FREE PRESS WITHOUT DISSENT

*Excerpt from Gag Rule (2004)*

by Lewis Lapham

**B**y their very nature, special interest groups and fringe groups are dissenters. Journalist and *Harper's Magazine* editor Lewis Lapham offers a contemporary look at how American media and culture have aided conformity and made meaningful dissent increasingly difficult.

*Without censorship, things can get terribly confused in the public mind.*

- General William C. Westmoreland

The faults to be found with the news media are as numberless as the pebbles on the beach at Nantucket, but it's a mistake to blame them for the current emptiness of our politics. To do so serves no purpose other than to flatter the media's sense of their own self-importance. The nature of the [news] business is commercial, not political, and when the speakers on the dais praise one another as ferocious champions of liberty pacing tirelessly to and fro on the ramparts of freedom, the effect is comic. The ladies and gentlemen seated behind the wineglasses enjoy the patronage of very large, very rich, and very timid corporations (Time Warner, General Electric, the Disney Corporation), and anybody who rises to prominence in their ranks – as editor, political columnist, publisher, anchorperson, theater critic – learns to think along the accommodating lines of an English butler bringing out buttered scones to the Prince of Wales. Contrary to the preferred portrait of the journalist as a relentless seeker of the truth, the stock character more representative of the trade would be that of the cupbearer or cosmetician – a Rosencrantz or Guildenstern forever worrying about the quality and number of his dinner invitations, glad to do the king's bidding, quick to repeat the gossip heard on the palace stairs, a credulous and obliging little friend to all the world.

Prior to 1960, in what was still called the newspaper

*Lewis Lapham '56 is the editor of Harper's Magazine. He has published a number of books, including Theater of War, Fortune's Child, Money and Class in America, and Waiting for the Barbarians. He was the host and author of the six-part public television documentary series "America's Century." Mr. Lapham is also a member of The Council on Foreign Relations.*

game, it was generally believed that reporters had more in common with vagabond poets than they did with either Rosencrantz or Guildenstern. They hired themselves out as journeymen, not as immortal artists, and they tended to identify with the crowd in the bleachers rather than with the product endorsements in the box seats. None would have declared himself a gentleman, and if asked to state his occupation he would have said "reporter" or "newspaperman." The term "journalist" pertained only to Englishmen and would-be novelists.

John F. Kennedy's glamorous entrance onto the stage of the White House in the winter of 1961 coincided with the birth of an age in which journalists could become celebrities. The new recruits to a suddenly respectable profession brought with them from Harvard and Princeton bound volumes of the absolute truth, regarding themselves as the social equals of the politicians and movie stars about whom they were obliged to make popular romances. Most of them knew more about the pleasures of Paris or London than they did about the sorrows of Brooklyn or Newark, and quite a few of them had seen prior service as officers of the state. The rates of pay kept pace with the expanding wealth of the communications industries, and to the extent that the government and the media have learned to flatter each other by promoting their mutual importance, our journalists have become increasingly vain. Most of the newspapers that were once independently owned have been sold to large syndicates, and as the syndicates in turn have become fewer in number, the always narrower concentrations of wealth and decision inhibit the impulse for dissent.

As few as nine conglomerates now manufacture and distribute 90 percent of the country's news and entertainment product; three corporations (AOL, Yahoo, and Microsoft) manage 50 percent of the Internet traffic; and the Federal Communications Commission (established



## AMERICAN EXTREMISM

in 1934 to promote the "public interest") so obviously serves private interests that in the spring and summer of 2003, when considering the latest series of rules changes (changes that further concentrated the holdings of the monopoly syndicates), it held only one public hearing – not in Washington but in Richmond, Virginia. Not surprisingly, the wealthy corporations that own and operate the media color-coordinate their editorials with the commercial advertising.

During the weeks leading up to the George Bush's presidential nomination in the summer of 2000, the adjectives became more flattering and submissive as he approached the rostrum in Philadelphia, the once ignorant and boorish chieftain from the Texas plains becoming more statesmanlike and wise with every step, until at last, on the morning of his triumphant entrance into the city, the *New York Times* on its front page welcomed "a man of dazzling charm, tremendous social skills, a bold self-confidence, growing political savvy, great popularity." Three years later the network anchorpersons applied the same makeup to Arnold Schwarzenegger when he accepted the news of his election to governorship of California from the perfumed hand of Jay Leno.

The American news media is the product of the American educational system, and its unwillingness to speak for itself (in Archibald MacLeish's phrase, "to resign," even momentarily, "from the herd,") should come as no surprise. The dumbing down of the schools is neither an accident nor a mistake. We are a people blessed with a genius for large organizational tasks, and if we were serious in our pious mumbling about the need for educational reform – if we honestly believed that mind took precedence over money – our schools would surely stand as the eighth wonder of the world. But we neither like nor trust the forces of intellect – not unless they can be securely fixed to a commercial profit or an applied technology – and if most of what passes for education in the United States deadens the desire for learning, the miserable result accurately reflects the miserable intent.

No American schoolmaster ever out-



lined the lesson at hand quite as plainly as Woodrow Wilson. While he was still president of Princeton University, Wilson in 1909 presented the Federation of High School teachers with explicit instructions: "We want one class of persons to have a liberal education, and we want another class of persons, a very much larger class of necessity in every society, to forgo the privilege of liberal education and fit themselves to perform specific difficult manual tasks."

The difficulty, as Wilson well and clearly understood, was political. How do you teach people to "judge for themselves what will secure or endanger their freedom" unless you also teach them to think? And if you teach too many people how to think, then how can you be sure that they won't ask the wrong question? Why would any politician wish to confront an informed citizenry that could read the federal budget, decipher the news from Washington, and break down the election-year images into their subsets of component lies? Why would the purveyors of American goods services choose to afflict themselves with a public intelligent enough to find the hidden interest rates or see through the scrim of the four-color advertisements? The success of the American dream, like the success

*Schwarzenegger Speaks: CNN's Larry King interviews California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger on November 16, 2004. CNN is owned by media conglomerate Time Warner.*

**"The American news media is the product of the American educational system, and its unwillingness to speak for itself should come as no surprise."**



**"American education resembles the commercial procedure that changes caterpillars into silkworms instead of butterflies."**

*University Protests: Students express concern with the prospect of U.S. retaliation to the September 11th attacks during a rally at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on September 20, 2001. These students were part of a somewhat limited outpouring of dissent in the early days of the War on Terrorism.*

of MasterCard and the Republican Party, presupposes the eager and uncritical consumption of junk in all its commercial declensions.

Because the schools serve an economic system rather than a political or philosophical idea, they promote, not un-reasonably, the habits of mind necessary to the preservation of that system, which is why an American education resembles the commercial procedure that changes caterpillars into silkworms instead of butterflies. Silkworms can be turned to a profit, but butterflies blow around in the wind and do nothing to add to the wealth of the corporation or the power of the state. An inept and insolent bureaucracy armed with badly written textbooks instills in the class the attitudes of passivity, compliance, and boredom, and if the public schools employ the punitive devices of overcrowded classrooms, recitations by rote, questions shaped to the simple answer of yes or no, they do so because they aspire to the recidivism rates of successful penal institutions.

The last and most obstinate of the impediments in the way of forceful political dissent is what Walter Karp understood to be the "corrupting consolation of cynicism." Karp employed the phrase to describe the attitude of mind adopted by a generation of American intellectuals responding to the Wilson administration's harsh suppression of unlicensed speech during and after World War I. Finding themselves suffocated by a climate of opinion in which dissent was disloyalty and disloyalty a crime, a good many independent-minded and once outspoken citizens acquired the habit of looking at the national political scene from the point of view of spectators at a tenement fire or a train wreck. As compensation for their loss of a public voice, they retired to a li-

brary or lawn party and there contented themselves with private and literary expressions of anger and disgust. Language served as an end in itself, the imagination a vehicle for escaping reality rather than a means of grasping or apprehending it.

The attitude is one that I've encountered often enough in myself to recognize it in other people – not only among card-carrying members of the country's various intellectual guilds but also among the well-to-do gentry content to leave the business of government to the hired help. Our schools teach marketing instead of history, and the prosperity of the last thirty years has encouraged a disdain for politics on the part of people who imagine that liberty is an asset inherited at birth – together with the grandfather clock and the house on the lake – rather than the product of hard and constant labor.

The universities don't take the trouble to correct the mistake. When traveling to Dartmouth or Stanford or the University of Michigan, I expect to meet people who can afford to say what they think. I find instead a faculty preoccupied with the great questions of





tenure and publication. Everybody is studying the art of writing grant proposals or the forms of courteous address appropriate to the magnificence of the department chairman. The freedom of expression proves to be contingent on the circumstance – permissible in some company, not in others. As with the professors, so also with the students. God forbid that they should misplace the Rolodex or omit a single move while making their way around the Monopoly board of a high end American success. A generation ago graduates of the country's upscale universities might have mentioned the name of a dead poet, or said something about truth and its untimely betrayals. Not now. Not when they think that if they miss their first and maybe only chance at the brass ring, they might never find their way back to the putting greens of Fairfield County or the music on the beach at Mailbu.

The willingness to go along and get along is as American as the Salem witch trials and apple pie. Alexis de Tocqueville remarked on the prevalence of what he called "the courtier spirit" in the United States when passing through Nashville, Tennessee in the winter of 1831. He had thought that the citizens of a new democracy would prove to be turbulent and rough-hewn people, direct in their actions and forthright in their speech. He was surprised to find them so seldom inclined to exercise their well-advertised freedom of expression. True, they didn't dress as well as the ladies and gentlemen in France; their conversation wasn't as refined, and neither were their manners; but they possessed a marvelous talent for ingratiating themselves with anyone who could do them a service or a favor. Worried about losing a fraction of an advantage or a degree of self-importance, they were very, very careful about talking out of turn, and it occurred to Tocqueville that never in his travels had he encountered a people so easily cowed by the "tyranny of the majority" and so desirous of being perceived as "polite."

In all its tenses and declensions (some complacent and luxurious, others bitter or acerbic) the corrupting consolation of cynicism is the cynical



politician's most precious asset and truest friend. "Yes," say the gentlemen in power, "exactly right, the world is a terrible place, overflowing with terrorists and swindlers, and you my dear fellow, you are so sensitive and smart that it would be a crime to squander your talent in the sewer of politics, to do anything else but sit here in the garden with the novels of Marcel Proust. We would do the same if only we had the chance, but we're not so insightful as you, not so well read or profound, and so we must leave tonight for London to talk to an Arab about a bomb."

Several years ago on its editorial page the *New York Times* issued the complacent announcement that "great publications magnify beyond measure the voice of any single writer." The sentence employed the wrong verb. The instruments of the media multiply or amplify a voice, serving much the same purpose as a loudspeaker in a ballpark or a prison. What magnifies a voice is its wisdom and compassion, and against the weight of the world's iniquity the best resource is the imaginative labor of trying to tell the truth. Not an easy task, but the courage required of the writer, if he or she seriously attempts it – and the response called forth in the reader, if he or she recognizes the attempt as an honest one – increases the common stores of energy and hope. ■

*The Rigors of the Press: U.S. President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair hold a joint press conference in the East Room of the White House on November 12, 2004. The two heads of state discussed the results of the recent elections in Afghanistan.*

**"What magnifies a voice is its wisdom and compassion, and against the weight of the world's iniquity the best resource is the imaginative labor of trying to tell the truth."**





## RADICAL ENVIRONMENTALISM, PART II

*A Look at the Extreme Left*

by Christopher Manes

**D**uring the 1980s, when greed was good and trees (according to a certain president) caused pollution, I ran into a merry band of radical environmental activists who called themselves "Earth First!" Most took part in legal protests against activities, such as clearcutting, that threatened irreparable ecological harm to the natural world.

Some engaged in civil disobedience, by standing in front of bulldozers punching roads into pristine wilderness or by occupying old growth trees slated for cutting (a practice that came to be known as "tree-sitting"). And a few carried out patently illegal acts of "ecotage" or "monkeywrenching" — vandalizing heavy equipment used to destroy wild areas, placing metal spikes in timber to damage saws in mills, and causing assorted other kinds of property damage intended to frustrate the plans of the resource industry to exploit the natural world.

Earth First!, along with other radical environmental groups like the Sea Shepherd Society (notorious for sinking illegal whaling vessels), had a profound effect on the mainstream environmental movement at the time. They made the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, and other traditional organizations look downright moderate by comparison, giving them political cover to take more aggressive stands on ecological issues. To government officials facing angry eco-demonstrators with war cries like "Go Clearcut In Hell!," sitting down and talking with respectable environmental lobbyists content with half a loaf, must have seemed like walking from a mosh pit into a cotillion.

The radicals' actions also publicized ecological issues to a broader section of Americans than the mainstream groups ever reached. People simply respond to human

passion more acutely than to the logic of environmental impact reports. When the public saw footage of protesters "tree sitting" 150 feet above the forest floor to prevent a giant old tree from being cut down, they couldn't help but sit up and take notice, whatever their politics. Even the most unreconstructed conservative had to ponder what motivated the protesters to take such dramatic action.

On a more elementary level, ecotage attacked the bottom line of the resource industry. My research at the time put the financial burden of ecological vandalism at \$20 to \$25 million a year. Some timber sales, for instance, were apparently scrapped outright because of tree spiking. In general, the financial cost of ecotage reduced the profitability of resource exploitation, and thus at least slowed down the pace. The beneficiaries, again, were the mainline environmental groups, who came to the table with a stronger hand knowing that their opponents were being hit in the pocketbook.

Perhaps most significantly, radical environmentalism gave the environmental movement a new language for discussing the challenges raised by our industrialization of nature. Instead of focusing on recreation and human health hazards, the radicals spoke in terms of habitat, biodiversity and ecological meltdown. Before Earth First! came along, hardly anybody in the environmental movement, much less the government agencies in charge of our public lands, even knew what the term "old growth" meant." By the end of the 1980s, it was the common parlance, and passion, of mainstream groups, and an ecological reality that the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management had to address for the first time. Roland Barthes called the available political options that exist in a culture a function of the "universe of discourse," and the main strategy of politics is to control the scope of that universe. If so, the radicals gave the environ-

*Once an activist with Earth First! and an associate editor of the Earth First! Journal, Christopher Manes instigated a split within the group when he wrote a 1987 article using the pseudonym "Miss Anne Thropy." In 1990, he wrote "Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization." Manes has since withdrawn from the Earth First! movement and now advocates compassion for animals from a Judeo-Christian perspective. He wrote "Rediscovering the Spirituality of Animals" in 1997.*



ment movement an expanded discourse for protecting the natural world.

Finally, the radicals brought a whole new philosophical perspective to environmentalism, in the form of "deep ecology" or "biocentrism." First articulated by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, and disseminated in America by Bill Devall's and George Session's book, "Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered," biocentrism offered a new way to think about nature and humanity's relationship to it. For the deep ecology philosopher, nature wasn't just a resource; as a living, breathing extension of ourselves, it was entitled to ethical consideration. Defending the natural world was no longer only about efficiency and stewardship and human needs, but about being moral toward a world in which the nonhuman mattered. Agree with it or not, deep ecology's ambitious reinterpretation of the environmental movement's principles galvanized a generation of activists, and found fertile soil in universities, where it informed fields of knowledge, such as "ecocriticism" in literary studies, ecopsychology, and conservation biology.

With the coming of the 1990s a quietude seemed to settle over radical environmentalism. Earth First! broke down into factions. The incidents of ecotage declined dramatically. And while ecological civil disobedience continued in particular environmental battles, such as the fight to preserve old growth redwoods in Northern California, it was no longer as widespread as

in the heyday of Earth First!

Part of this was no doubt due to a chilling effect generated by various countermeasures, both lawful and unlawful, taken against prominent environmental radicals. In particular, the federal criminal charges brought against Earth First! cofounder, Dave Foreman, for allegedly conspiring to sabotage a nuclear power plant ratcheted up the stakes of engaging in ecotage, which up to then had a relatively low risk of prosecution. I remember working on the case as a summer law clerk for Gerry Spence, Foreman's counsel, and the tapes of the FBI agents investigating Foreman (the undercover agent conveniently left his wire on by mistake) made it clear that this was in fact one of the FBI's goals. As the agent phrased it, Foreman was "the guy we need to pop to send a message." Similarly, a bombing that injured two longtime clearcutting protestors, Judy Barry and Darryl Cherney, suggested that opposition to environmental activism threatened to escalate into the realm of Central American death squads. The raucous, even carnival-like atmosphere of radical environmentalism's early years evaporated. It appeared the Empire was striking back.

But this tells only half the story. The fact is radical environmentalism became less prominent in the 1990s, not because it had failed, but because it had succeeded so well. The radicals suffered a fate similar to successful third parties in America: their agenda was

**"The radicals' actions publicized ecological issues to a broader section of Americans than the mainstream groups ever reached."**



**Arctic Slope:** Kelly Paul of the Alaska Wilderness League protests drilling in ANWR. The arctic slope is a recurring issue among environmentalists, and one that will very likely be affected by Bush's second term in office.



**"If history is a guide, the radical environmental movement is likely to awaken from a decade-long slumber."**

adopted to a greater or lesser extent by many mainstream groups. Once "old growth" and "biodiversity" started appearing in the policy options of even the most timber-industry-friendly Forest Service official, it has to seem less urgent to spike trees to publicize the issues.

With the defeat of Bush senior by Clinton and the removal of the last remnants of Reagan's resource industry irredentists in the Interior Department, some semblance of sanity was restored to America's environmental policy, and radical environmental tactics became less compelling. Many of the radicals moved on, if not to greener pastures, then to less contentious ones, often by joining up with the mainstream groups they helped to transform. Foreman for instance wound up serving on the board of the very Sierra Club he had spent a decade chastising for its timidity. For my part, I became an attorney, a profession based on advocating the law, not breaking it. But I never regretted having done a tour of duty in the radical environmental trenches, rather than getting an MBA as was then fashionable and working for the Wesayso Corporation. My stint as associate editor of the *Earth First! Journal*, one of the most groundbreaking, quirky and influential environmental publications of its time, was an adventure in what the alternate press was meant to be.

Now that greed is good again and we have another Bush as president, one who likely also thinks trees pollute, the future of radical environmentalism is regrettably bright. Like most political movements, radical environmentalism moves in cycles, and has had various manifestations in American history: the proto-biocentrism of Aldo Leopold, the Earth Day blossoming of the 1970s, and the "Watt Boom" produced by the dark days of Reagan — so-called because James Watt, Reagan's evangelistic Secretary of the Interior, advanced such blatantly anti-environmental policies that the membership of environmental groups skyrocketed.

But political cycles aren't mere repetitions, like those of a washing machine. Rather, the cycles move like comets, returning to the same place with new planetary alignments to negotiate. If history is a guide, the radical envi-

ronmental movement is likely to awaken from a decade-long slumber. In light of Republicans' total control of the government, and especially Bush's apparent goal of unrestrained exploitation of the environment, activists may soon find the mainstream environmental movement too confining for the task at hand. As the levers of government fall again under the control the resource industry, a radical reaction is probably inevitable, just as it was under Reagan. But the conservatism that the radicals challenged in the 1980s is vastly different from the conservatism of today.

The first, most obvious difference is 9/11. In the 1980s, the FBI famously labeled *Earth First!* "softcore terrorists." The phrase was intended to express the fact that while ecoteurs (the term for those engaged in ecotage) targeted property, they avowedly did not want to hurt people. Such nuances would probably be lost in the post-9/11 world. Even during the 1980s, the rise of the "national resources state" was well underway, a condition in which national forests and other public lands that offer resources are militarized and under constant surveillance. 9/11 accelerated this disturbing process. If ecotage does begin to flourish again, there is little doubt that law enforcement would respond with a severity unknown in the 1980s, when according to my research only a handful of ecoteurs were ever caught. With the Patriot Act, and the political cover that 9/11 gave for prosecuting anything that smacks of terrorism, softcore or not, ecoteurs would find a much less hospitable landscape than the 1980s, when ecotage had the patina of the Boston Tea Party, not jet planes crashing into buildings.

But perhaps more problematic is the way modern conservatism has captured the "universe of discourse" about the environment in recent years. Traditional conservatism had some semblance of respect for the environment, because it was embedded in a language of rights and obligations. Mostly this was just lip service, but it was intelligible lip service that acknowledged some obligation among members of society not to despoil the natural world, if only because it seemed wrong.

Modern conservatism has for the



## AMERICAN EXTREMISM



*Toe the Line:* Animal rights protestors march in Paris. Manes argues that protests are largely ineffective in drawing attention to the environmental movement, and that more drastic actions are necessary.

most part abandoned this discourse, and replaced it with the imperatives of cheap labor and cheap resources, as the key to prosperity (interpreted to mean corporate profits). I think it is fair to say that modern conservatism really isn't about anything else but cheap labor and cheap resources, and virtually all of its policies are directed at this goal, whether it's outsourcing jobs, encouraging capital flight, destroying unions, or fostering unaffordable health insurance. The result is financial insecurity, loss of negotiating power for most working Americans, cheaper labor, and thus higher corporate profits. Conservatism has been Walmartized.

In this world of cheap labor conservatism, there is no room for Goldwatersque appeals to rights and obligations. There is no room for any environmental discourse, as was so thoroughly demonstrated when Bush's energy policy was crafted exclusively through discussions with energy companies, without any input whatsoever from environmentalists. The modern tongue of conservatism speaks only about cheap products. And cheap products require ruthless environmental exploitation, the de-legitimization of environmental regulations, and the disregard for any values in the natural world.

Now, from my perspective, this leaves modern conservatism morally and philosophically bankrupt, but politically it has come to own the language our culture uses to address envi-

ronmental issues. The fact that environmental issues played no role whatsoever in the recent presidential campaign speaks to how successfully modern conservatism now frames this debate: so successfully that for most people there appears to be nothing to debate. For radical environmentalism to have any impact, it must break into and overcome this language. The deep ecology gambit, which proved so useful in invigorating the environmental movement, does not seem to be up to this task.

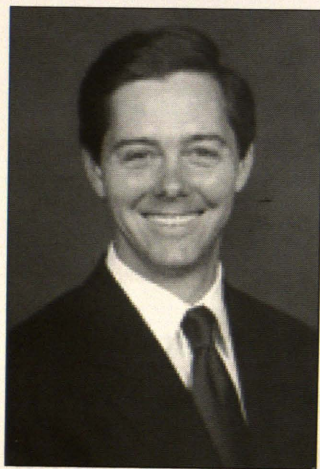
It may be that environmentalism as we have known it is passé, both in its mainstream and radical avatars. For most Americans, preoccupied with financial insecurity and cloyed by ineffective protests, to take notice of environmental issues there would have to be an outpouring of protest on a scale that seems inconceivable in today's political culture. It may be that to counteract cheap-labor conservatism, environmentalism cannot be about the environment at all, but about the deeper considerations of how we live and work and relate to each other. This is an old debate among environmental activists: is the movement about being progressive on just one issue, or on every issue? Do you have to fix everything in society to defend the environment, or is environmentalism separate from some larger progressive movement? The controversy, which was once more or less academic, is likely to become urgently practical during the next four years. ■

**“For most Americans, preoccupied with financial insecurity and cloyed by ineffective protests, to take notice of environmental issues there would have to be an outpouring of protest on a scale that seems inconceivable in today’s political culture.”**



# CONSERVATISM AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

*A Conversation with Former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed*



**R**alph Reed served as Chairman of the Southeast Region for Bush-Cheney '04. He was College Republican National Committee Executive Director from 1983-85. During his tenure as Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, the grassroots organization's budget grew from \$200,000 in 1989 to \$27 million in 1996. Mr. Reed is founder and president of Century Strategies, a public affairs and consulting firm. He has advised 88 campaigns for governor, Senate, and Congress in 24 states. He sat down with *The Politic* on November 16, 2004.

**During the seven years that you were Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, the group's support base grew from two thousand to two million members and supporters. What strategies did you use to attract followers?**

We built our national support base through a combination of grassroots recruitment, telemarketing campaigns, paid media including radio and television, and direct mail. We contacted millions of people every year through those various avenues.

**In what ways did your success with the Christian Coalition affect the major party platform? Were there any issues that you think were brought more into the mainstream?**

The Republican party's support of pro-family policies really preceded the founding of the Christian Coalition. So I don't know that our efforts per se affected the party's stand. The position of the Republican party on issues such as marriage and the protection of innocent human life went back to the early 1970's and had remained very consistent.

We made a unique contribution in advocating for a child tax credit that would make the tax code more family-friendly. And of course with the election of George W. Bush in 2000, that child credit has now been doubled from \$500 to \$1,000 per child. That was a legislation and principle that was initially advocated by the Christian Coalition.

**What is similar between the strategies you used to attract people to the Christian Coalition and the strategies you used to attract voters to**

**President Bush, and what is different?**

When I became chairman of the Georgia Republican Party in 2001, we really applied many of the same tactics to generate support for the Republican Party and its candidates. We held grassroots training seminars, we engaged in grassroots efforts where we contacted citizens block by block and county by county. The truth is that whether it is a political party or an issue organization, or whether it is liberal or conservative, all of these strategies are very similar.

**How did you get involved in politics?**

I got involved because in 1972 when I was then growing up in South Florida, both the Republican and Democratic parties held their national conventions in Miami. It obviously captured the attention of the entire city and region. This was before cable television, so while most people in the country were only watching probably two hours a night, I was watching just about every hour of the coverage on public television. It was a very interesting and exciting time politically, with the first time that 18-year-olds had gained the right to vote, the backdrop of the Vietnam War, and the rise of the anti-war movement. It was a very riveting time, and that's what first got me interested in politics.

**Many ideas during history have been labeled as "radical" before they became accepted by the American mainstream. Have you encountered such labeling? How do you convince people to change their way of thinking about those ideas?**

I think that that kind of labeling has generally taken place by the dominant media, and it doesn't really in-



fluence either the public or the outcome of elections. If you wrote on the mainstream platform in support of values and stronger families, and you find a way to articulate those beliefs in a way that embraces all of our citizens, I don't view it as an impediment at all.

There's no better example of that than the impressive and richly-deserved victory of President Bush on November 2<sup>nd</sup>. He certainly was criticized and attacked by some of the dominant media and on the left. As long as he made clear that his platform was a mainstream agenda—conservative reform that would benefit our citizens—then he was able to rally people to his side, and not only people who traditionally voted conservative or Republican. He closed the gender gap to a statistically-insignificant five points, winning the largest percentage of the women's vote by a Republican candidate for president in many years; he won 42% of the Hispanic vote; and did very well among seniors and many others who have not always voted Republican or conservative.

**Many people are concerned about the influence of the Christian Right, and religion in general, on President Bush's policies. What role do you believe religion should play in politics?**

The President's faith gives him a sense of meaning and purpose in his own life, and it has made him a better father, husband, and leader. I think faith gives the President the freedom to do the right thing rather than focusing on what benefits him politically. But I don't believe that the President's public policy views are an extension of his religious belief. He has made it abundantly clear that one is equally American whether a Jew, Muslim, Christian, or of no faith at all. I think his public policy views are shaped by what he thinks will benefit the citizens and expand opportunity to those who have not always benefited from the American dream.

**From a political strategist's point of view, is it advantageous for a candidate to be affiliated with a particular faith, as is President Bush, as op-**


**posed to one's status in a faith being questioned, as is Kerry's?**

No. A recent poll published in the New York Times showed that 67% of white Protestants, and an overwhelming 78% of white Evangelical or born-again Christians voted for Mr. Bush, while members of other faiths tended to vote mostly for Mr. Kerry.

**In a secular democracy, do you believe that belonging to a certain church should influence an election?**

I'm not sure that that's really an accurate reflection of what happened on Election Day. After all, President Bush won a majority of Catholic voters, and in a number of key states, a majority of Hispanic voters. The President won 56% of the Hispanic vote in Florida, for example, and won the nationwide Catholic vote. I think the President enjoyed deep and broad support across racial, ethnic, and gender lines. It was an impressive and across-the-board victory.

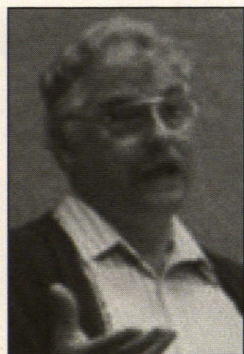
**One of the reasons many Arabs have joined the jihad movement is to halt what they see as the spread of Christianity into their Islamic homeland. Do you believe that the strong presence of Christianity in the U.S. political leadership undermines the United States' stated goals for the invasion of Iraq, and in fact lends support to the jihadists' claim in the eyes of the world?**

No, I do not. I think that radical Islam and terrorism are perversions of a peace-loving religion, and I do not believe that there is any contradiction or tension between Islam and democracy that respects the rule of law, civil and human rights, and respect for other nations. 



*Crossing the Racial Divide: President Bush is embraced by Reverend Thomas Brown, Pastor of New Orleans' Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, where Bush spoke on January 15, 2004. It was part of an attempt to reach out to a group that traditionally votes Democratic.*





## EXTREMISTS OR DISSIDENTS?

*Remapping and Rehabilitating Movements of Dissent*

by Chip Berlet

**D**uring the recent presidential election, both Republicans and Democrats tried to pin the label of “extremist” on their political opponents. I slogged through a blizzard of direct mail warning that the opposition candidate was “far left” or “far right” while the candidate who deserved my vote was “mainstream” and in the “political center.”

The calculated impression created by this rhetoric is that if you step outside the political center you immediately are swept away, down the slippery slope, into the maelstrom of lunatic zealotry or violent political revolution. This is simply false.

The political mainstream and the outlying revolutionary margins interact primarily through large populist dissident movements on the left and right. Mainstream political operatives try to lure popular social and political movements into joining electoral coalitions as a way to garner votes. From the other side, political militants and revolutionaries attempt to recruit these same populist and reformist dissidents into adopting a more radical analysis and using violent methods such as terrorism.

Over the past thirty years, conservative evangelical Christians have been mobilized into a series of large and overlapping populist, cultural, and social movements. Republican strategists ranging from direct-mail guru Richard Viguerie to Bush operative Karl Rove have sought to channel this cultural and social energy into conservative political organizing. They have succeeded. Many voters at exit polls cited “moral values” as a significant reason they voted for President Bush. Social issues, especially gay rights and abortion, help bring Christian Right voters to the polls, and have shifted some former Democrats into voting Republican. Democrats and liberal groups often refer to the Christian Right as composed of “religious political extremists.” As in every social movement, there are militants oper-

ating on the margins of the Christian Right. Christian Reconstructionism is a right-wing theological tendency that seeks to impose its reading of Biblical law on American society—including the death penalty for homosexuals and recalcitrant children. Some anti-abortion activists justify the murder of doctors. This is scary stuff, even though the vast majority of conservative evangelical Christians reject these views. The Christian Right, however, still plays a significant role in shaping electoral politics, and will be actively pushing its social issues agenda during the next four years of the Bush administration.

I will leave to others the discussion of the post-traumatic, post-election shock over the lack of civility and lack of content in the rhetoric used by both presidential candidates in the 2004 election, even though I agree with the diagnosis. What I want to prescribe is the rehabilitation of populist political dissent as a way to increase the long-term health of the American body politic. Dissident social and political movements bring new ideas into the political system and can force those in political power to rethink policies that are not working. They serve at the same time as innovators and checks on political power—both of which are essential components of a healthy free society.

When we lump together all political candidates and movements outside the “mainstream” as “extremists” of the left and right we are not only stifling a potentially valuable debate, but also using a theoretical model that has been seriously challenged in academia during the last 20 years. After World War II a number of scholars looked at the popular appeal of fascism and communism and concluded that mass movements threatened the stability of society. Shocked by the acquiescence of most Germans to the Nazi genocide of Jews and liquidation of other groups, these scholars saw warn-

*Chip Berlet is Senior Analyst at Political Research Associates, an organization that works to bring attention to the danger of the political Right in the United States. An widely-published investigative journalist, Mr. Berlet specializes in right-wing social movements, apocalyptic scapegoating and conspiracism, and authoritarianism.*

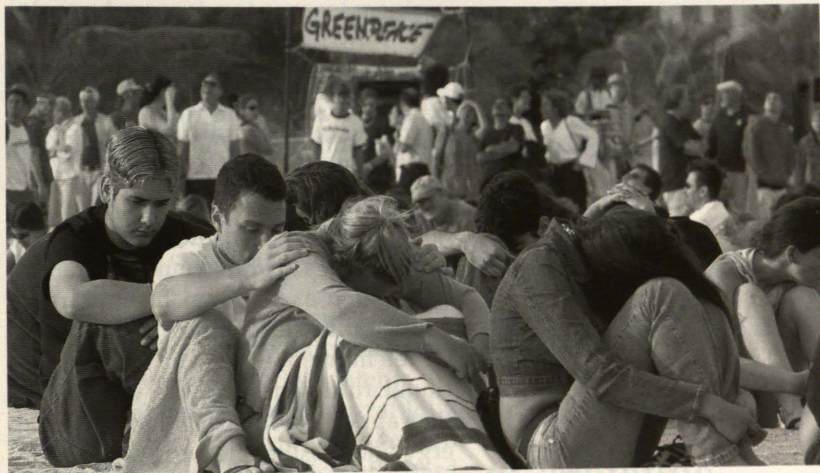


## AMERICAN EXTREMISM

ing signs in the Red Scare of the McCarthy Period, the presidential campaign of ultraconservative Republican Barry Goldwater, Jr., and the Populist Party movement of the late 1800s. The scholars concluded that people swept along by social movements were psychologically-dysfunctional grumblers who couldn't play by the rules of democracy, and instead turned to irrational behavior to make their voices heard. The idea that extremists of the left and right threatened society was a dominant frame in sociology and the other social sciences until the mid 1970s.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was considered one of these extremists in the early 1960s. Centrists pasted the label of "extremist" on both the Civil Rights protestors and the segregationists. Civil Rights activists were tossed in the same category as communists and other so-called "outside agitators" in public discussions, and the segregationists were lumped together with the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis. The implication was that all civil rights activists and all segregationists were agents or dupes of revolutionary ideologies and violent methodologies. These claims were not true for either side of that struggle.

I was not a neutral observer. I joined the Civil Rights movement through my Presbyterian Church youth group while I was in high school in the mid 1960s. When I went to college it was clear that many young sociologists were unhappy with the idea that people who joined mass movements were psychologically dysfunctional extremists (or "wing nuts") on the fringes of the political system. Many of us had joined these movements. An increasing number of sociologists became participant-observers of various left-wing social movements that cascaded out of the civil rights struggle: student rights, the movement against the war in Vietnam, women's rights, the ecology movement, farm worker rights, gay rights. In part because more academics were actively involved in these movements of dissent, a new set of social movement theories emerged in sociology that looked at participants in social movements as intelligent and rational people with shared grievances. As dissident activists they sought social change through demon-



strations, sit-ins, and other forms of mass organizing outside the boundaries of typical electoral or legislative campaigns.

Eventually I dropped out of college to be a full-time left-wing social movement participant, and spent time as a journalist in the underground/alternative media of the 1970s. I am still a progressive political activist, and it is still my job to convince you that my ideological goals are worthwhile and my policies would benefit the common good, but if I do that by unfairly labeling my opponents using stereotypes, demonization, or scapegoating, then I am cheating. These techniques are toxic to a democratic process.

As I became a serious analyst of right-wing social and political movements, I returned to scholarly analysis using sociology and social movement theory. While most of the groups and movements originally studied using this scholarly lens were on the political left, an increasing number of scholars used this lens to look at the political right. Among the early authors who studied the political right using social movement theories were Sara Diamond, Kathleen Blee, Jerome Himmelstein, and Rebecca Klatch. Now there are scores serious books on right-wing movements such as Rick Perlstein's excellent book on the Goldwater campaign or Lisa McGirr's illuminating study of the suburban roots of the New Right.

The picture of social movements that has emerged is complex. There are a wide range of ideologies and methodologies. Skillful leaders mobilize resources, test the political opportunities opened and closed by the state, frame

*Environmental Crusaders: Greenpeace holds a demonstration in Miami Beach on January 17, 2004. Members protested U.S. government action against the organization for its attempts to halt the illegal importation of mahogany.*

**"What I want to prescribe is the rehabilitation of populist political dissent as a way to increase the long-term health of the American body politic."**



**“Civil Rights activists were tossed in the same category as communists and other so-called ‘outside agitators’ in public discussions, and segregationists were lumped together with the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis.”**



*The Unmasking: Three members of the Ku Klux Klan hide behind a half-Confederate, half-American flag on October 23, 1999, in New York. A Federal Appeals Court stated the KKK had to remove their hoods in order to march in New York City.*

ideas in ways that resonate with broader populations, and develop cultures that support and energize participants. At the same time, movement participants often ignore the proclamations of their leaders and pick and choose among various policy positions. Some movements institutionalize themselves with social movement organizations such as national headquarters, think tanks, and alternative media. Other movements never sink institutional roots and are like whirlwinds that appear suddenly in a burst of energy and dissipate leaving only memories and debris.

The “armed citizens militia” movement is a good example of the latter form. There has long been an ultra-conservative “Patriot” movement in the United States against big government, taxation, regulation, gun control, and international treaties. Patriot activists suspect that secret forces manipulate politicians and that the government is about to impose some form of tyranny. For decades they warned of a plot to build a New World Order involving the Soviet Union, the United Nations, and subversive traitors in high government

positions. After the collapse of communism in Europe, the Patriot movement focused on its fears of the U.S. government, and an armed wing emerged in the early 1990s as a related but distinct social movement.

The new “armed citizens militia” movement was in part mobilized by organizers from the revolutionary right, including white supremacists and antisemites. Yet the primary focus of the militias was anti-government agitation that was militant yet ultimately reformist; and not all participants shared the overt agenda of the white supremacists and antisemites. The mi-

litia movement gained national attention in 1995 when Timothy McVeigh bombed the federal building in Oklahoma City. McVeigh was not active in a militia movement, but was involved in a more revolutionary formation closer to neonazi movements and sought to recruit allies from within the reform-oriented militia movement.

This dynamic relationship between reformist and revolutionary groups occurs on both the right and left. A good example from the left was the movement against the war in Vietnam. Similar to the right-wing Patriot activists, most antiwar activists were political reformers who sought change within the existing political system. But, as with the Patriot movement, there were also revolutionary anti-war activists who set aside their long-term insurgent goals and violent methods to participate in a reformist mass movement—in their case, to end the war. A handful of leftist anti-war revolutionaries chose to reject political reform (even as a short-term tactic), and instead formed small cells, such as the Weather Underground, that used political violence. Their tactics were similar to the pro-violence strategy of ultra-rightist McVeigh, a revolutionary who sought to influence the broader and reformist militia movement, except the Weather Underground, and most similar groups on the left, generally targeted buildings they thought were empty.

A central question we must ask when we look at any dissident social movement is whether it is ultimately reformist or revolutionary. We need to recognize that the First Amendment protects calls for revolution that are rhetorical and not part of an active conspiracy to overthrow the government. And we need to understand that populist reform-oriented dissident movements on the left and right are situated *between* revolutionary groups and mainstream electoral political movements. These are important concepts for ensuring respect for civil liberties.

All too often government agencies decide that the way to find terrorists or other protestors engaged in criminal acts is to send swarms of infiltrators and agents into dissident mass movements. This is a bad idea no mat-



ter whether the target is on the left or right. It chills free speech and disrupts constitutionally protected political activity. Labeling all dissidents as "extremists" can lead citizens into ignoring abuses of government power. Even the label "terrorist" has been overused. Vandalism is not terrorism. Non-violent civil disobedience is not terrorism. Today, if a follower of the non-violent methods used by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. chose to highlight a call for political reform by kneeling down to pray in the crosswalk of a busy intersection in Washington, D.C., they would fit one definition of terrorism circulated by the Justice Department.

We also need to appreciate that social movements change over time as does their role and influence in the political process. Libertarianism was once a relatively small political tendency championed by obscure movement publications such as the *Freeman* and linked to the anti-government sentiments of isolated ultra-conservative groups such as the John Birch Society. Libertarians were once called "extremists." Some libertarians decided to channel their social movement energy into political action. Now the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, is a player in Republican Party politics and has a movement base large enough to fund a spacious and visually stunning office building in Washington, D.C. Dan Ikenson from Cato wrote an article for the Spring 2004 issue of *The Politic*. I disagree with his views but he makes a well-reasoned argument. If I labeled it "extremist" that would only serve to shut off any possible dialog over the issues raised in his article. Libertarianism is an example of how dissident social movements have wings ranging from purists who disdain compromise to pragmatists—like those folks at Cato—who join coalitions seeking to influence elections and legislation.

It is clear from the recent election that we live in a polarized society. One way to pursue a constructive outcome is for Democrats and Republicans to stop labeling each other "radical right" and "radical left," and to stop using slogans such as "religious political extremists" or "tax and spend liberals." A functioning democracy is based on

informed consent, not consent manipulated by scaremongering and scapegoating by cynical spin-doctors. The formula for democracy is straightforward: over time, the majority of people, given enough accurate information, and access to a free and open debate, reach the right decisions to preserve liberty, extend equality, and defend democracy.

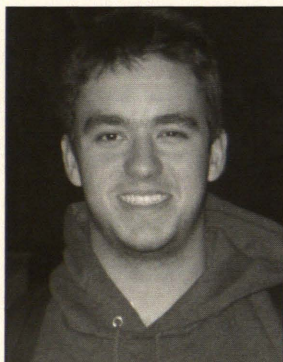
Our two-party system tends to sideline dissent and force political activism toward the center. But the center is not a fixed location. Under Democrat John F. Kennedy, the political center moved to the left; under Republican Richard M. Nixon it moved to the right. Today some Republican Party activists consider some Nixon policies to be too liberal. So the political center in the U.S. has shifted to the right. The term "extremism" does not help us to truly understand this dynamic.

I am still not a neutral observer. I am concerned about the policies of the Christian Right and worry about issues such as reproductive rights, gay rights, and separation of church and state. Yet I am offended when my colleagues on the political left use the term "religious political extremist" to describe tens of millions of our fellow citizens who were significantly responsible for electing the current president. We need to learn how to disagree with and challenge the Christian Right without using language that gives the impression of disrespect for sincere religious faith.

Spin-doctors and political strategists use the term "extremism" as a hyperbolic rhetorical frame of reference to demonize their opposition by sticking labels on them. This shrill strategy shifts political debate away from a candidate's policies, plans, goals and vision of the future—ideas that could help form the basis of informed consent for a voter in a democratic society. It also marginalizes the type of populist political dissent and creative opposition to the status quo that makes a society flexible enough to meet the challenges the future always delivers. It is time to rehabilitate dissent and reject labels that demonize dissenters and unfairly lump together all social and political movements outside the current—and temporary—political center. ■

**"When I went to college it was clear that many young sociologists were unhappy with the idea that people who joined mass movements were psychologically dysfunctional extremists on the fringes of the political system."**





## A YALIE'S CAMPAIGN JOURNAL

*At the Epicenter of Election 2004: Cleveland, Ohio*

by Samuel Paris

**S**aturday: Drive west. New Haven, 5 am – Here begins the 500 mile road trip to Cleveland, Ohio, to defeat President George W. Bush. Eight Yalies in two cars, with two more to drive later in the day. Spirits and adrenaline are running high, despite only a few hours of sleep. The open road beckons. Slight delay, though, as we wait

around and eventually barge into the bedroom of one of our party, who has slept through his alarm.

3 pm – We cross the Ohio border, and stop for directions at a visitors' center. To our great surprise and delight, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* informs us that Democratic challenger Senator John F. Kerry will be holding a rally in downtown Cleveland on the eve of election, accompanied by The Boss, Bruce Springsteen.

4:30 pm – Working our way through the eastern suburbs of Cleveland, it is a "quintessential" American autumn scene, as one in our car observed: blue sky, leaves falling along a comfortable boulevard. A high school football game in progress. The sense that we have left the Yale bubble, dreary New Haven, the east coast, and arrived in Real America, where the election will be decided.

5 pm – Arrival at the headquarters of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats Cleveland headquarters, a progressive voter mobilization organization that operates nationwide. We are specifically working for the VoteMob, an initiative targeting college students. A good-natured recent graduate from Michigan breaks down Ohio's general voting trends in a short briefing. Her talk is strangely overflowing with obscenities in a display of her youth and enthusiasm. It is too late in the day to go canvassing, so we are sent to a phonebank in downtown Cleveland.

6 pm – We navigate our way downtown, taking every opportunity to thrust our new Kerry-Edwards signs out the window in a tactic known as "visibility." The pedestrians are mostly minorities. With a determined look, a man in a black suit yells back: "Anyone who

votes for Bush is just uncivilized!"

6:30 – 10 pm – Arrival at the 16<sup>th</sup> floor of a downtown office building, law offices that have donated their space for the phone bank. We are fed from 12 foot submarine sandwiches, and mourn the recent Browns loss with the locals. We are given scripts and instructions in an executive board room. It is the first time for most of us. We quickly reach a comfort zone and develop our own styles on the phones. About five of us are in the same room, along with a middle aged woman from Berkeley, California, whose daughter is an organizer. Serious laughs are produced listening to one another, and at some of the names we come across on the list, like Mark Mullet.

11 pm – Our lists finished, we clean up and go home. We are confident that we had some good contacts, but eager to get out into the field to do some face-to-face work. Poor directions leave us in a parking lot across from a seedy Pancake house in a rough neighborhood. A police officer named Woo gives us better directions, and confirms the obvious, that we were in the wrong part of town. "If anything funny happens at a red light, just burn it. You can tell them Officer Woo said it was okay."

12 am – Arrive at the Pincus' residence, whose daughter went to Yale. They have a very large and comfortable home with beds and couches for all ten of us.

### Sunday – Halloween

Akron, Ohio, 10 am – Arrival at America Coming Together (ACT) Office in Akron. ACT is another "527," a progressive voter mobilization group. We are split up into groups of twos and threes and given materials for "lit drop," whereby we leave fliers in every doorway in a specific neighborhood. My neighborhood is mostly

*Samuel Paris is a History major in Pierson College.*



fraternity and shared student housing. Beer cans and bottles litter the lawns, and Halloween party decorations show evidence of the parties a few hours prior.

1 pm – Taco Bell lunch and debrief at ACT office. We stop in at the Akron Kerry/Edwards campaign headquarters to say hello. Very impressed by energy, organization, infrastructure, and food.

5-8 pm – Briefing in a café parking lot for canvassing. We are sent out in groups of two to our assigned neighborhood, as indicated on a map. We are given "literature" to hand out, a sample ballot to practice on (Ohio still uses old-fashion punch ballots with the infamous "hanging chads"), directions to the local voting precincts, and candy. The last item is to hand out in reverse trick-or-treating.

My partner and I are on the far outskirts of the University of Akron campus, and do not encounter very many students. It is a poor neighborhood, and most people, even if at home, do not answer their doors, especially after it gets dark around 6. "Not at this time-a-night, you ain't!" yells one woman through a door, as my partner announces he is there to make sure she votes on Tuesday. We encounter two ex-convicts who are enthusiastic registered voters.

9 pm – Dinner at Subway, sponsored by 21<sup>st</sup> Democrats. We drive back to Cleveland.

## Monday – Kerry/Edwards Campaign

Kerry/Edwards Headquarters, Cleveland, 10 am – Two members of our party and I break away from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats and work directly for the Kerry/Edwards campaign for the day. The campaign has taken over Shaker Square, an outdoor upscale shopping center in suburban Cleveland. On one side of the plaza is the operational headquarters; diagonally across is the volunteering headquarters. Many of the shops and restaurants in between have donated their space to phone banks, and have Kerry/Edwards posters in the windows.

We are quickly processed by Nick, a Princeton undergraduate volunteer, and sent out to canvass a few streets in nearby Cleveland Heights. We descend

upon and the area and take care of it pretty quickly. We are to make tallies of contacts and doors knocked on. Most people are not home at this hour on a business day, so we leave literature. A very upset Vietnam veteran let loose on me, for at least twenty minutes, his rage at the current administration, and the neglect and poor medical treatment he has experienced since returning over thirty years ago. He was severely wounded while overseas and sustained nerve damage that prevents him from working to this day. And yet, he recalled with special angst, he received notice to report to a military base in the buildup to the Gulf War; if he had refused, he would have been arrested.

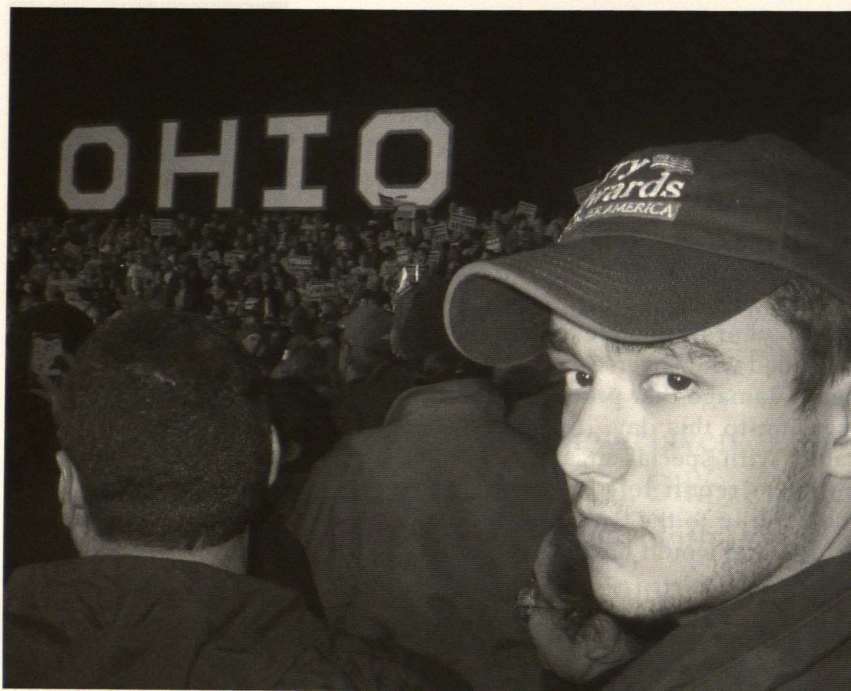
2:30-6 pm – We debrief at headquarters and are reassigned to a large area in ward 11, downtown Cleveland. We are hungry and tired when we roll into our neighborhood, which is poor and predominantly African-American. Any complaints disappear within minutes of knocking on doors. Many more people are home, thanks to the time of day. They are friendly and courteous, and thank me for what I am doing. Most are registered voters and eagerly looking forward to the following day. We remind them of their polling precinct, to bring ID, and tell them to call 1-866-OUR-VOTE if they have any trouble voting. There are rumors that Republican poll monitors will be challenging voters, especially in minority districts. We also hand out general admission tickets to the Kerry/Springsteen rally that night, to their great delight.

It starts to drizzle and get dark right around 6 pm, and we decide to call it an afternoon. With about a 60% contact rate for doors knocked on, it has been our most productive outing so far, and we regret only that we did not have more time or people to devote to this neighborhood.

8-11:30 pm – Back in Shaker Square we treat ourselves to our first real meal of the trip at Yours Truly, a fine diner. Spirits and optimism are running high after a productive day, and a feeling of momentum for Kerry in the last week. We drive downtown, waving our signs and honking at friendlies. By chance, we run into the other Yalies, just re-

**"The sense that we have left the Yale bubble, dreary New Haven, the east coast, and arrived in Real America, where the election will be decided."**





*End of the Road: Sam Paris looks on as the Kerry campaign makes its last efforts in Ohio to seal a victory in Election 2004.*

**"Spirits and optimism are running high after a productive day, and a feeling of momentum for Kerry in the last week."**

turning from another day at the University of Akron. There, they stood in the middle of campus and contacted student passerbyers, a technique that is part of the VoteMob student initiative from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats. Our compatriots report that it was highly successful and rewarding.

Thousands are gathered at the rally, which has as a backdrop Cleveland Browns Stadium and Lake Erie. With our blue tickets, we enter the second tier standing room, but are still a good distance from the speakers. One buddy and I squeeze through some fencing and, after negotiations with security, find ourselves 20 yards off left center stage, and four rows back from the alley used by the speakers to enter. Senatorial candidate Eric Fingerhut is speaking, and riles up the group with an incredible chant, wherein he points at himself and yells "FINGER," then points at the crowd, who returns a deafening "HUT!" and repeat (the following day at the polls, a voter predicts Fingerhut's loss to Senator George Voinovich because of the latter's name recognition).

Fingerhut is followed by Representative Dennis Kucinich, Senator John Glenn, and The Boss. Springsteen plays three songs that I do not recognize, but greatly appreciate. Continuing to strum, he introduces Senator John Kerry and Teresa Heinz-Kerry, and in

so doing revolutionizes the stump speech as we know it. Springsteen makes a ten minute political talk tune-ful and pleasing to the ear; I hope he runs for governor of New Jersey. Teresa's talk is heartfelt. John speaks through constant interruptions by chants of "KERRY!" and "One more day!" Afterwards he shakes hands with the crowd along the passage to backstage. I stretch my right arm over those in front of me and connect with his left. "We drove all the way from New Haven to see you!" His grin widens and he nods a thank you.

We are flying high on the way back, and the girl at the concession stand gives us free food.

12:30 am - Back and at home in bed at the Pincus'.

## Tuesday - The Longest Day

Cleveland, 3:45 am - Wake up call. Everyone is primed and ready to go. We down some coffee and muffins before hitting the road to Akron.

5 am - Arrival at 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats University of Akron headquarters. We are split into teams of two and move out to Lit Drop. We leave fliers reminding people to vote, and maps to the local polling precincts in doorways and car windshields of students.

6:30 am - My partner and I are some of the earliest to return and are sent out to be the poll watchers at the two precincts 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats is focused on. These are the precincts that correspond to the neighborhoods our organization has targeted.

7-7:30 am - Arrival at a community center that serves as the polling place. Even though many students will be coming here to vote, it is not walking distance from campus. There is a front entrance behind a large grass lawn where two Kerry/Edwards volunteers sit behind a table. They are: Pablo, a recent English-major graduate from Haverford, and Mette, a Danish international relations graduate student at Columbia. Both are wearing neon yellow "Problems? Ask me!" t-shirts. I introduce myself. I drop anchor on a picnic table outside the back entrance,



next to the parking lot. A tall respectable looking man in his early 60s and an oxford sweater introduces himself as the Republican poll monitor. I shake his hand politely, but am inwardly wary of him after all of the talk and court battles surrounding the intentions of these monitors to challenge democratic voters.

Inside the building there are two distinct polling precincts set up, with four workers each. Most are elderly women. I find and meet the democratic poll monitor, a middle-aged woman in a smart suit. She seems very pro-active and informs me that everything is running smoothly so far. I reported all this to Nicole back at the office, who is my close contact and lifeline over the next 11 hours. She will send us food, a Nokia charger for my phone, and anything else I need to know or have.

I go back outside to the picnic bench, and ask everyone who comes out if they were able to vote successfully.

8-12 am - Approximately 30 people come outside distraught and in a rush, having not been able to vote. Inside they are simply told that their names are not on the rolls, and to call 1-866-OUR-VOTE. The line is overwhelmed and often busy.

Fortunately, the two Kerry volunteers have a registry of local addresses and the corresponding polling places. They eventually relocate their table near me in the back just off the parking lot. I corral failed voters, calm them, take down their contact information, and bring them to Pablo, who finds their polling place. We determine the four polling places that we have seen the most people redirected to. I call Nicole who relays directions from our location. Antwan, a young handicapped man pays a cab out of his own pocket to come to our precinct to vote, and is turned away. I call Nicole, who sends a volunteer driver to take Antwan to his new polling place, and then home.

The redistricting is very hard to explain to people who live down the road and have voted at the same place for twenty years. Why did no one tell them until today? Most are happy to know where they will be allowed to vote and determined to see it through. But some

simply don't have the time. They cannot take off that long from work.

12-4:30 pm - Two Columbia law students reinforce me. They quickly understand the situation and are very helpful. My adrenaline has been pumping all morning so it is nice to have the moral and practical support. They put in an official complaint to the Board of Elections. There is a constant flow of voters, and those turned away. We redirect everyone we identify with the problem.

There are isolated other problems people run into: an elderly woman notices that her friend, who is running for a county position, is not on her ballot. Her booth has ballots a different district, and all who voted before her voted among ineligible choices.

A number of people are not on the rolls even though this is their correct polling place. We return with them inside and have them fill out a provisional ballot.

4:30 pm - It starts to rain heavily and get cold. The numbers of voters fall off. I take a half hour nap in the car of the Columbia students.

5-7 pm - The power has gone off in the other polling place 21<sup>st</sup> Century Democrats is watching. The Columbia students are sent there to help out with flashlights and to calm voters. I remain until the polls close at 7 pm. The numbers of voters has fallen off significantly. I make conversation with the poll workers and Richard, the Republican poll monitor, who is a genuinely nice person. He was not even sure who to vote for in this election, because he does not like the administration's lack of support for the sciences and scientific research. He challenges no one over the course of the day, according to his strict directions from the local branch of the Republican National Committee. He does not know where the rumors over the challenges came from.

7:30-9 pm - I am picked up and driven back to the University of Akron headquarters. Word has just come in that Kerry unexpectedly takes New Hampshire. Total euphoria. There is talk of a victory party in downtown Cleveland

See yourself  
working for  
*The Politic*  
on many levels:

national  
writing  
opinion  
features  
international  
national  
writing  
opinion  
features  
production  
international  
editing  
national  
design  
business  
opinion  
writing  
features  
international  
layout  
design  
features  
business  
national  
editing

www.thepolitic.org  
**POLITIC**

To find out how to  
get involved, e-mail  
editor@thepolitic.org



**"We hit the road still hopeful, refusing to give in. We use leftover food money from Bush Busters to purchase an Allman Brothers disk to keep us company on the long ride home."**

at the Sheraton Hotel. Exhausted and excited we drive back to Cleveland and the Pincus' to regroup. During the drive national public radio declares a few southern states for Bush, and claims a large lead in Florida. We remain optimistic.

9:30 pm – We crack a few Busch lights and watch the results roll in. This is frustratingly slow, and absent of any decisive news. Pennsylvania will go to Kerry; Florida to Bush; it all comes down to Ohio. I am happy to be at the epicenter of the election, but do not like the early numbers. I finish my beer and head to bed.


## Wednesday – The Longest Drive

Cleveland, 8 am – I wake up after the deepest sleep I can remember, but do not want to hear bad news. It looks like Ohio will go to Bush. There are a lot of provisional ballots to be counted. We hit the road still hopeful, refusing to give in. We use leftover food money from Bush Busters to purchase an Allman Brothers disk to keep us company on the long ride home.

11:30 am – My mom calls and tells us Kerry has acknowledged defeat and will be speaking in a few hours. Our car is upset, but we remain in strangely high spirits – black humor and many laughs.

Rural Pennsylvania, 2 pm – We are getting gas when word spreads that Kerry is speaking. It is a truck stop, with a large TV and lounge. We watch the concession speech, with difficulty and emotion. Two truckers in the back of the room are talking, meanwhile, in terms insulting to Kerry. I feel a little strange, stunned and angry, and after a bathroom visit, I can't help but to sit down next to these guys and ask why they voted for Bush. The one closest to me brought his face close to mine and with great hostility asked why I voted for Kerry. Without letting me answer, he points to the screen and says, "Even there, you can't trust him. He says God bless America, but wants to take prayer books out of the schools!" The man next to him

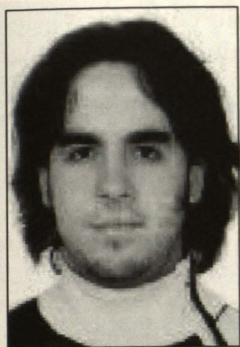
chimes in: "It is our Constitution-given right for freedom of religion, and John Kerry wants to make an amendment – wants to change the Constitution! – and say that we can't practice our religion. Here, I want you to take this." He pulls out a purple elastic-banded folder and hands me a stapled packet. We read it in the car. It is a rambling prophecy of the coming of the anti-Christ (who, the packet alleges, looks eerily like Woody Allen), and the second coming of Jesus, or something like that. One of its main points was to avoid the 666 Sign of the Beast computer chip that the government is trying to insert into peoples' foreheads and right wrists. It will be used for identification purposes, and as a credit card to buy groceries. We are entertained, but a little disturbed by this bizarre encounter.

New Haven, 7 pm – We unload the car and divide up the posters from the Kerry rally, including *Boilermakers for Kerry*, and *1 More Day*, which have lost some of their sentimental value from the previous night. The trip is done. We are disappointed and disillusioned, but happy to be home. Above all, we are proud to have gone. All are more energized for whatever cause drove them in that car 1,400 miles earlier. 

*Sleeping It Off: Supporters of President Bush sleep on floor of the Ronald Reagan Building in Washington, D.C. following the Republican National Committee election night party. Meanwhile, supporters of Sen. Kerry fell went to bed knowing that their candidate had little chance of recovering Ohio.*







## A BRIDGE TO THE EAST

### *Turkey and the European Dream*

by Igal Aciman

**T**he European Union should not be an exclusive Christian club.” These are the words that have been uttered repeatedly by the Turkish Prime Minister Recep T. Erdogan during his visits to European capitals in the past few months. Presently, the Turkish government is undertaking heavy diplomatic traffic between Ankara and Brussels

to ensure that a pro-Turkey decision will be made in the European Union summit on December 17, 2004, when the leaders of the Union will decide whether or not to initiate talks with Turkey about its membership process to the E.U. If initiated, this “negotiation process,” will conclude within ten to twelve years when Turkey will eventually become a full-pledged member of the Union.

Lately, the debate over Turkey’s membership has been dominating European political discourse, especially in France where, according to polls, the public opinion strongly disapproves letting the Turkish state in. The Turkish government, on the other hand, recently having passed several amendments to the constitution to make it more aligned with E.U. norms, is fairly confident that the summit will vote in favor of Turkey’s membership.

Turkey applied for E.U. membership in 1959, only two years after the six founding states had signed the Treaty of Rome. Then the European Coal and Steel Community was founded with the aim of uniting the national control mechanisms over the production of these two main resources that are crucial for war. Subsequently via creating an interdependent Europe, it aimed to avoid any future European wars, of which they had suffered tremendously in the past. The E.U. has certainly achieved that goal, but in time its ambitions have gone far beyond. The establishment of European Monetary Union (E.M.U.) with one single currency made the E.U. world’s first real supra-national organization in which states willingly gave up some of their sovereignty over monetary policies. Today, Europe, as a strong supranational community, continues to expand and integrate all European nations. In the past forty-eight years, nineteen new nations joined the union, and two more will join in

2007. Yet only Turkey’s membership has arisen so much controversy. The question is why the E.U. could absorb ten new countries at once on May 1, 2004, while it regularly has postponed Turkey’s bid for membership over the last forty-five years.

The most intimidating aspect of Turkey’s membership is the size of the country. Turkey extends over an area larger than any member of the current Union, and with a population around 70 million it would be the second largest after Germany. This implies a vast voting power in the European Parliament. Therefore Turkey’s population, combined with the high unemployment rate, is a real concern for the E.U.

But is it just about demographics? Some people say the real problem is Turkey’s identity. They say Turkey is not actually a European country because it comes from a different background. Europe, with its Greco-Roman tradition, fundamentally differs from Turkey whose traditional culture derives from the old Central-North Asian Turkic culture and has been under the influence of Arabic and Persian cultures for many centuries. Most importantly, Turkey’s population consists of almost only Muslims whereas Europe is essentially a Christian-dominated continent.

Nevertheless, history shows that this statement is true only to a certain extent. The Turkish-ruled Ottoman Empire kept expanding into the heartland of Europe until it was defeated in Vienna in 1683, and it has reigned over many European nations until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottomans, however, have never defined themselves as a European Empire. The Ottoman perception of Europeans was mostly a group of “kafirler”, the “infidels,” and the European perception of the Ottomans was not very different. Both parties always looked down on each other’s culture and fought against each other until the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of

*A sophomore in Timothy Dwight, Aciman plans to major in Economics and International Studies.*



**"The question is why the E.U. could absorb ten new countries at once on May 1, 2004, while it regularly has postponed Turkey's bid for membership over the last forty-five years."**

*Turkish Delight: Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan holds a press conference on September 17, 2004, in which he warned the E.U. against meddling in "Turkey's internal affairs."*



the First World War, and the young Turkish Republic with a Western-oriented vision emerged from its ashes. Turkey has been much closer to the West than it has been to the East since the founding of the republic in 1923.

Besides cultural differences, one of the most important reasons why Turkey is not yet an E.U. member is its rather deficient economy. Members of the E.U. fear that once Turkey joins the E.M.U., its economy will destabilize the whole European economy. Turkey has gone through several financial crises in the last two decades, scaring off foreign direct investment, which has been returning only lately and doing so warily because of obscure political environment in Turkey.

The fifth major issue is Turkey's location. Turkey extends over both European and Asian continents, with the much larger portion in Asia. Some people argue that the E.U. also has to work out where its eventual borders will be. Does Europe really want to extend into the Middle East and become neighbors with dictatorships like Syria or Iran? During a panel organized by the European Academy in Germany on

the future of the E.U., I remember a French student saying "We have to draw a line somewhere, and we have to make this line clear because we wouldn't want Iran to become our neighbor." When confronted with the argument that Turkey is not like Iran and also becoming neighbors with Iran does not mean it will eventually become European, she replied, "If you argue that Turkey is a Western-friendly democracy and thus belongs in Europe, then so is Israel, so is the U.S. and so is Australia, but do they belong to the E.U.? No, because they are not European. Neither is Turkey!"

While listening to this argument I remember myself thinking how meaningless it is to try to define the European Union

as a geographic concept while the whole idea behind it is to integrate similar nations in order to create a stronger European entity. If Europe is defined as solely a geographic concept, then Cyprus, unlike Turkey, is not at all a European country. However, it is self-evident that Cyprus indeed belongs in Europe, with its citizens and their culture. As a result, the debate over geography is nothing more than an excuse to refuse Turkey.

The liberals in Europe argue that the E.U. will succeed in becoming a confederation with one common market, and it will bring perpetual peace to Europe. If this peaceful Europe is the goal, then having one of the strongest armies in the region within the democratic system will certainly help them achieve their objective. The advocates of neo-realist theory, on the other hand, reflect that the European Union is just another international organization and there is nothing special about it. It should therefore act purely according to its self-interest. Fine; then let us make predictions on what will happen if Turkey joins the union and what will happen if it is refused, and we will see that having Turkey in the E.U. is to both sides' interest.

If Turkey is eventually rejected by the E.U., Turkey might become a less West-friendly state and choose to be a much stronger figure in the Islamic world. In Turkey's last elections, for the first time in its history, the majority voted in favor of a party which is known to have connections to the prominent "National Vision movement," a political group known to have ties to Islamic fundamentalist networks. Soon after that, the Turkish prime minister came together with the Syrian president in Ankara after sixty years of bad relations between the two countries. The Turkish government also signed economic treaties with Iran, and in the meanwhile, the government had minor troubles with its traditionally closest Western allies, the U.S. and Israel. Can Europe really afford having a geostrategically strong ally like Turkey forming a block with troublesome states like Syria, or fanatics like Iran? A *realpolitik* approach tells us that Europe needs Turkey primarily because Turkey must be saved from the darkness of the Middle East.





If Turkey doesn't become an E.U. member, another possible scenario, with a lesser chance, can be that it will eventually re-strengthen its relations with the U.S., the country whose position in Iraq Turkey has been strongly opposing, and with Israel, the country whose ongoing dispute with the Palestinian Arabs has become a diplomatic concern for Turkey. In that case, Turkey will continue relying on its strong military capabilities to maintain its upright posture in the region. Which one is more beneficial to the E.U.; having a strong American ally who is upset at the E.U., having another Islamic country right next to it, or having a strong European ally with a young population of seventy million people, a labor source that will soon be needed in Europe?

What happens if Turkey joins the union and an integration process starts? With its milestone reforms in changing its constitution to adapt to E.U. norms and showing its eagerness to join for the last forty-seven years, Turkey has clearly shown its interest to accept E.U. values and integrate into the European "free world." Turkey has

been a nominal democracy since 1923 and has been slowly progressing towards a real one since then. Throughout the Cold War, Turkey, a NATO member, stood firmly side by side with the U.S. and its European allies against the Communist threat. So, today if the ex-communist countries that have been extensively disenfranchised from the rest of Europe can be integrated into one united Europe, then why cannot Turkey? It is absolutely true that Turkey has oppressed its Kurdish citizens for a long time but so did Spain to its Basque and Catalan population for decades. The idea of democracy almost never existed in the ex-Communist bloc of the E.U. until the early 90s, and Greece was ruled under the brutal Colonels' Junta until 1974.

Though human rights records of other European countries are hardly spotless, there is certainly a disparity between Western Europe and Turkey. However, the examples of Spain, Greece, and the former iron curtain states prove that it is definitely possible to make the transition into a real democracy within a short period of time. Fur-

*Divisions Abroad: A supporter of the Republican Turkish Party waves a European Union flag during a rally held in Nicosia during the run up to parliamentary elections in the breakaway Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The E.U. is putting pressure on Turkey to broker a deal to reunify the divided island.*

**"Can Europe really afford having a geostrategically strong ally like Turkey forming a block with troublesome states like Syria, or fanatics like Iran?"**



**"If this peaceful Europe is the goal, then having one of the strongest armies in the region within the democratic system will certainly help them achieve their goal."**


thermore, many Europeans seem to forget the fact that women of Turkey had the right to vote and run for elections while the women of many other European countries, including France, were not allowed having anything to do with politics until mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, the Turkish government has already pushed through several economic and political reforms, particularly over the last three years.

Turkey's GDP per capita is significantly lower than the mean GDP per capita of the E.U. Yet, so were the GDP per capita of Portugal and Slovenia when they joined. Based on some very hopeful developments in Turkey's economy such as the present reasonable level of inflation the first time after twenty years, the E.U. should make a decision with a more futuristic approach as of helping and creating an economically strong friend instead of rejecting one. Also, many say Turkish people are generally religious and tend to be conservative. Comparatively, this is probably true but they are certainly not any more religious than the Irish or more conservative than the Greek were before they joined the E.U. In the cases of all these countries, access to the E.U. has brought a more cosmopolitan view to their people, and it has increased prosperity, political stability, and the rule of law. Today Ireland has a GDP per capita higher than the U.K.; the economies of Portugal and Greece are doing better than the French economy.

Surely, there are still major quandaries present in today's Turkey. The Kurdish problem, growing anti-Western (mainly anti-American) and anti-Semitic sentiments, corruption within the government, and the existence of organized crime are all big problems waiting to be resolved. Nonetheless, if the E.U. decides to accept

Turkey, it will take another ten years until Turkey's established membership. Ten years is a long time when many improvements can be made with the help of the E.U.

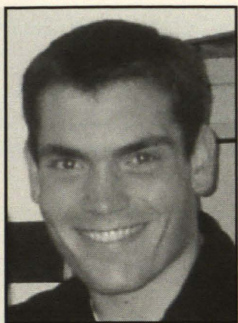
That is why this integration process will benefit Turkey and the Turkish people as much as it will benefit the European Union whose member countries must obviously prefer to see a positive change in their neighbor Turkey instead of leaving it with its *status quo*.

This must be the time when both the E.U. and Turkey will state their sincere wish for the realization of this integration, and the negotiations will consequently start. Welcoming Turkey to the European Union will improve the conditions in this geopolitically strategic country and will do a lot to promote democracy in the Middle East. From the European perspective, to miss this opportunity risks losing influence forever over an important strategic ally. Leaders of the E.U. should bear in mind that saying "no" to Turkey now will not only alienate the twenty million Muslims within current E.U. borders, but it also will make the whole Muslim world question the values of E.U. and its position in geopolitics. The E.U. underwent a very important task of uniting the traditionally enemy states within Europe after two most destructive world wars. Now the time has come when the E.U. should begin the challenging task of integrating Atatürk's democratic, secular republic into Europe. 



*East Meets West: European Union Commissioner for Enlargement Guenter Verheugen and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan meet in the Turkish capital of Ankara on September 6, 2004. The two have been extensively discussing Turkey's bid to enter the E.U.*





## THE NEW NASA

### *An Outline for the Future of American Space Exploration*

by Robert Holub

**I**n the past two years NASA has been rocked by many changes, some sought after by government commissions and others forced by disaster. While these changes are building from mere ripples, their direction and momentum are strongly forward. Despite having an ill-defined mission since the Apollo era ended in the 1970s, the space

agency suddenly is catching up with the times after floating under the radar of public scrutiny for over three decades. A recent presidential report has outlined a new, goal-oriented methodology for operations at NASA that embraces President Bush's new vision for exploration in the most pragmatic manner. NASA's future will be bright if the currently recommended changes are adopted and effectively managed.

After the Apollo moon missions ended in 1972, public interest in space dropped rapidly. The subsequent decrease in funding resulted in an organization with no clear mission that made only vaguely noble gestures at scientific advancement. The space shuttle program of the 80's and 90's was successful and generated a wealth of scientific information, including biological and physiological studies of the effects of microgravity on the human body. But the leaders' lack of organization prevented them from understanding how to realize their goals of future space habitation exploration. As a result, NASA stagnated. It has taken the loss of the Columbia, invigorating discoveries by Martian rovers and a burgeoning private space industry to bring NASA back into the spotlight. Enough attention was focused on NASA to warrant the formation of a presidential commission to recommend how to revamp the organization.

The President's Commission on Implementation of United States Space Exploration Policy published its report in June of 2004. The recommendations are fundamental, even obvious. But it has taken a lot just to achieve this small start at an overhaul. The most important recommendation supports the new national space exploration vision proposed by President Bush in January 2004, which defined NASA's goals as "the Moon, Mars and beyond." This is the single-most im-

portant force behind a national space program, one which NASA has been lacking since the Apollo missions and JFK's Cold War race to the moon. A goal-oriented framework of operations allows for greater efficacy and focus. It could galvanize NASA. The Columbia disaster in particular served as a wake-up call for the structural and cultural problems within NASA—and a clear, achievement driven mission statement is the first step towards NASA's bright future.

To travel to the Moon and Mars, NASA must surmount tremendous technological obstacles. The space shuttle program will be retired by 2012, after the completion of the International Space Station. That leaves scant time before the deadline of returning to the Moon in 2020. The report identifies several technologies that will allow travel to the Moon and eventually to Mars. Among these is a heavy lift vehicle to replace of the low-earth-orbit lifting power of the space shuttle. Other innovations include high-bandwidth communications and advanced propulsion systems.

The report also recommends forging further ties with the private sector. Since there will be no new money to finance this grand vision, the commission urges the adoption of corporate sponsors that will provide additional funding. The awarding of contracts to private industries for the development of technologies will drive innovation efficiently. For example, if Verizon were hired to develop the necessary high-bandwidth communications, it would receive free advertising and possible tax breaks. Involvement and cooperation with the private sector can prevent a lack of federal funding from becoming NASA's Achilles heel.

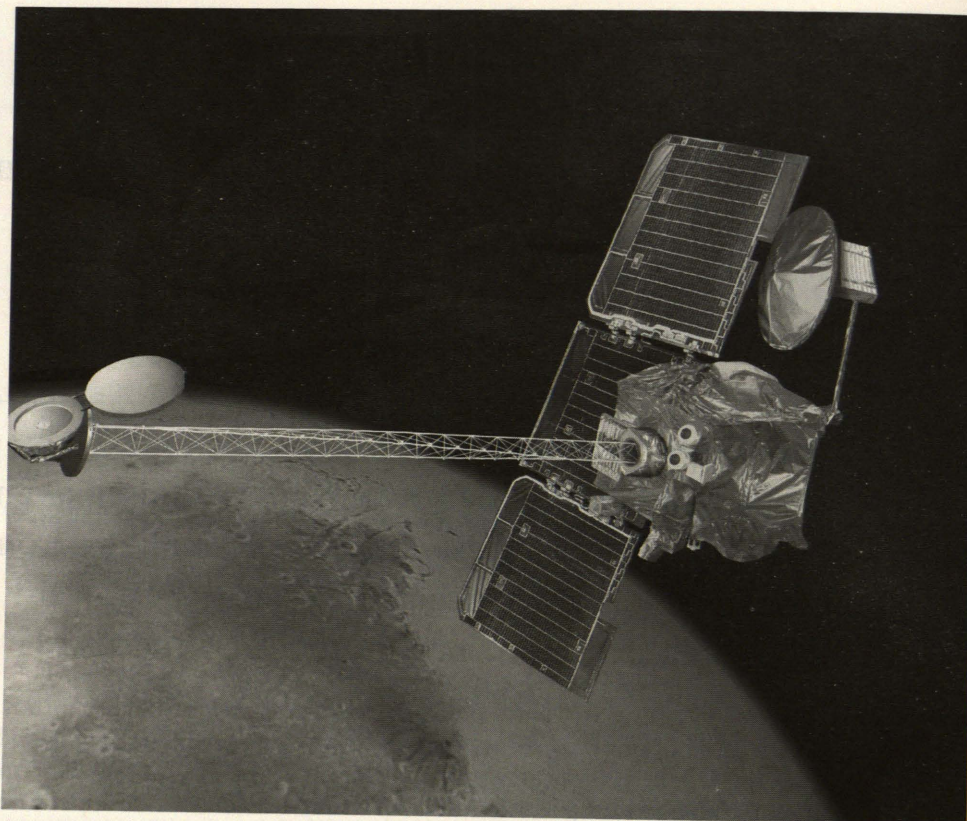
Space exploration has been controversial in the federal government and households across the nation. The vast majority of arguments against space exploration derive from financial concerns. The familiar line is: "If

*A junior in Davenport College, Rob Holub is majoring in biology.*



## OPINION

*Mission to Mars: This artist's rendition shows the Mars Odyssey spacecraft in orbit over Mars. It is the first satellite to approach Mars since the failure of the Mars Climate Orbiter and Mars Polar Lander probes in 1999.*



**"Few people realize that if it weren't for the Apollo program, today we wouldn't have disposable diapers, velcro, or modern computers."**

they took the billions of dollars spent on NASA and used it to feed and clothe the needy, a lot more good could be done for the world." In reply NASA advocates argue that there are limitless benefits resulting from the exploration of space. Few people realize that if it weren't for the Apollo program, today we wouldn't have disposable diapers, velcro, or modern computers. Moreover, there could be political ramifications. Apollo united our country against the communist enemy in a cohesion our country had never experienced before. Recently China has been intensely developing its space program: after launching a man into space in 2003, it is now close to having the ability to travel to the moon. If anything, the American people would want to travel to the moon simply to beat the Chinese there and assert our technological dominance.

On June 21, 2004 Mike Melvill became the first privately funded person to travel into space. He flew his SpaceShipOne to a height of 62 miles and celebrated his weightlessness by opening a bag of M&M's. This endeavor was funded in large part by Paul Allen, the cofounder of Microsoft, for a little

more than \$20 million. Their work, which began in 1995, won the Ansari X Prize, set up to award \$10 million to the first privately funded group to send three people on a suborbital flight 62.5 miles high and to repeat the feat within two weeks using the same vehicle. The goal was to spur the development of low-cost space travel which would jump-start space tourism and private sector development. Charles Lindbergh won a similar prize for his famed solo transatlantic flight.


Space tourism is no longer being treated as a fantasy. The will and interest are available. So is the cost-efficient technology. The rights to SpaceShipOne's technology have been purchased by Virgin Atlantic Airways which wants to commission of a commercial spacefleet that would offer rides into space for \$200,000. A private space industry is emerging. The first tourist was Dennis Tito, an American, who paid Russia \$20 million for a trip into space. An increasing number of companies are taking deposits for orbital excursions. The commission predicts that this industry will become a "national treasure" in terms of economic benefits reaped by the United States. It



encourages more competitions similar to Ansari X, such as a prize worth \$1 billion that would be awarded to the first organization to place humans on the Moon and sustain them there for a fixed period of time. Beyond tax incentives and regulatory relief from liability laws, private industry could also be aided by capitalizing on the fact that the U.S. never ratified the 1979 "Moon Treaty", which prohibits private ownership of parts of the Moon. Thus, the new direction of NASA embraces the economic advantages of space exploration and is seemingly holding its ground against the naysayer.

The report, however, is also laden with several attempts at self-justification that are not necessarily so potent. In terms of national security, maintaining supremacy in space is of the utmost value, but the commission highlights another point that may draw criticism. "...skills honed in implementing the [exploration] vision could help detect and deflect harmful asteroids that could one day threaten Earth." While ultimately

this may be a later advantage of space exploration, it is currently unrealistic. Furthermore, a full one-fifth of the report is given the heading "Inspiring Current and Future Generations" and is devoted to ways in which NASA can promote learning and education to a new generation of explorers. NASA is a space agency; its concern for learning and education should be minimal at best. If they are successful in space exploration and scientific advancement, they will generate their own following and interest as byproducts. As much is evident in the still echoing awe and wonder people hold for the Apollo program and the ensuing wave of space-mania it created. Budget appropriations toward inspiring our nation's young "as only NASA can," to use one of their favorite slogans, should be strongly reconsidered. I implore that it should be stricken from the current mission statement. Similarly, the heinous misuse of funds known as the "Teacher in Space" program remains unaddressed. Still, although there are shortcomings and oversights, commission report has set forth a tremendous plan of reform for NASA.

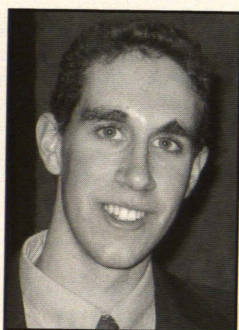
But a report is not action. President Bush and his successors must put these recommendations into effect and support them throughout the development of this mission. In the report's own words, it must be "significant national priority." The next greatest challenge to this new vision's realization is funding. The "go as you can pay" policy may not be sufficient even with the new corporate partnerships. Even if neither of these requirements are met, a space race with China may be just around the corner and have the capacity to set this vision in motion. With a little luck, however, these mounting ripples of change at NASA will build into high and beautiful waves of exploration and discovery, perhaps losing the corny catch-phrases along the way. We need only steer clear of the breakers of public indifference and apathy. 

**"It has taken the loss of the *Columbia*, invigorating discoveries by Martian rovers and a burgeoning private space industry to bring NASA back into the spotlight."**



*Liftoff: A Delta II Heavy launch vehicle is engulfed in smoke as it lifts off from Cape Canaveral, Florida, starting the Mars Exploration Rover B on its journey to the red planet.*





## THE DAY AFTER

*Coping with the Liberal Defeat*

by Alan Kennedy-Shaffer

Tuesday, November 2, 2004, will forever be seared into our collective memory as the day that we laughed, we cried, and we lost. We lost the electoral vote. We lost the popular vote. We even lost our Senate Minority Leader. From Florida to Iowa to New Mexico to Ohio, the Democratic Party returned to the Republicans

those states that we had spent the better part of a century wrenching from their grasps. A map of our nation divided into slave states and free states, as it existed in 1860, would look almost identical to an electoral map divided in states that voted for Senator John Kerry and President George W. Bush. And, as if that were not enough, Senator John Edwards will relinquish his seat to Republican Richard Burr in January.


Unsurprisingly, the calamity that befell us the day after All Saints Day came as quite a blow to many Yale students. While the students who comprise Yale College come from far and wide and hold a variety of political beliefs, there is a stigma of liberalism attached to our university that pervades the columns of neo-cons almost as often as they set their pens to paper. To be fair, most Yalies lean to the left. The Yale College Republicans, for instance, barely retained a dozen active members until a month ago. The Yale College Democrats, on the other hand, grew by leaps and bounds between Jan., 2003, and the November elections. Despite the subdued tones of anti-Bush protestors, it is still *cool* to call yourself a Democrat on central campus. What changed during the latest election cycle is not so much individual Democrats as the nature of the Democratic Party itself.

What I learned working in the Kerry-Edwards headquarters in Philadelphia on Election Day, I will treasure forever. Starting the day at 6:00 am as a canvasser and ending the day as the second-in-command of the entire GOTV phone bank system for the City of Brotherly Love, I was astonished at the upward mobility for eager young campaign workers. One reason why I was able to move to a supervisory role so quickly, however, is

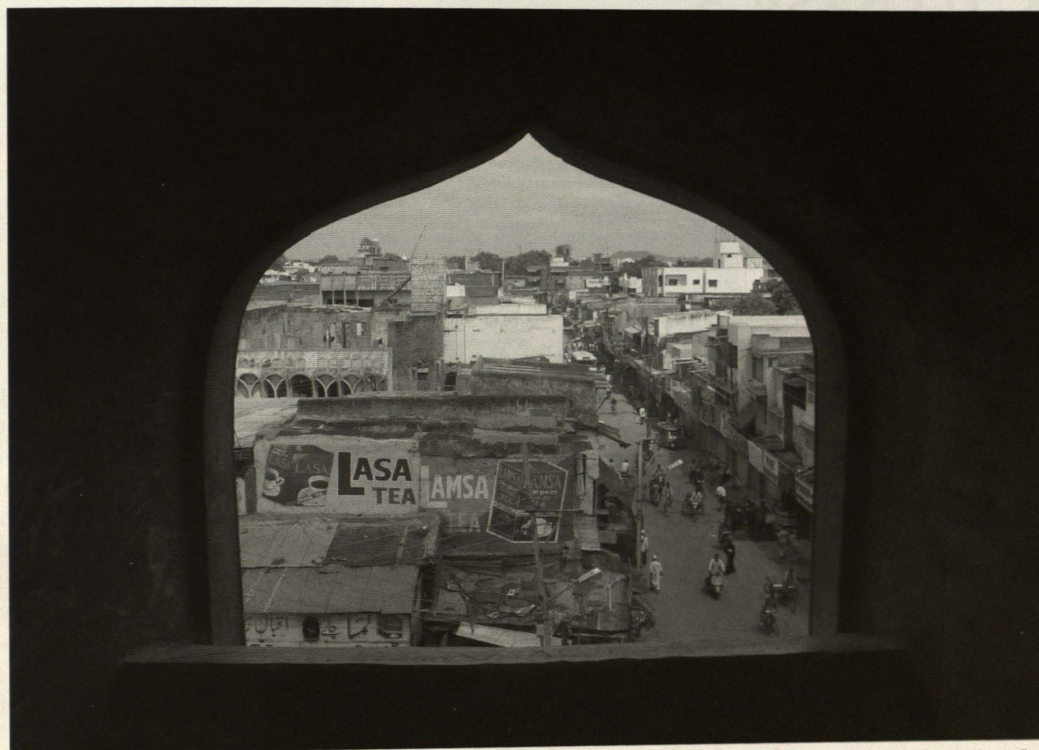
*A junior in Davenport College, Alan Kennedy-Shaffer is majoring in Political Science. He represents Davenport on the Yale College Council.*

that the campaign was not as organized as it might have been. In an election in which the Democratic Party repeatedly told its members, "Every Vote Counts," we traded our campaign infrastructure for a marginal increase in visibility. In the end, it did not matter—we won Pennsylvania by more than 100,000 votes and started to celebrate as the polls finally closed in Pittsburgh at 9:30 pm.

By the time Kerry publicly conceded the election to Bush just after 2:00 pm on Wed., Nov. 3, and haltingly remarked that he wanted to give everyone who supported him a big hug, most of us who had braved the bitter winds of New Hampshire for another failed presidential candidate from New England and had subsequently traded in our pins upon Kerry's nomination had wept tears of anguish and disappointment. In all my years upon the campaign trail, there is nothing so hard to bear as defeat when victory seems all but assured.

Yet all is not lost. Just as the founders of our nation foresaw the dawn of a new democracy destined to become the greatest republic in history, so must we forge ahead in our fight for progressive principles. Yalies will form new alliances and found new organizations to promote the gains of Reconstruction, the ideals of the Civil Rights Movement, and the promise of a nation dedicated to providing a fair shake for Americans of all colors and stripes. The road ahead for the Democratic Party—and the road ahead for the future leaders of this great nation who toil away at Yale University—will be lined not with gold but with hardship. Our challenge is to refashion our politics in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, combining courage, conviction, and charisma. As we prove ourselves worthy of that challenge, I have no doubt that we will find ourselves once again on the winning side. 





*Photographs taken by Stephanie Dziczek '06*

## INDIA: A Visual Study





## BACK TO BASICS

### *Re-Inventing the Goldwater Revolution*

In 1964, Barry Goldwater accepted the Republican nomination for president and set the ideological trajectory of a nation on the brink of self-discovery. "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." His words are more important today than ever before.



The current administration, fresh from a resounding electoral and popular victory at the polls, is at a similar crossroads that will define our political dialogue for the foreseeable future. President Bush has an opportunity, as Goldwater so prudently advised, to become a crusader of liberty, a 21<sup>st</sup> century St. George who would slay the multi-headed dragon of collectivization, governmental centralization, and foreign tyranny. Instead, he could shun the sword for the scepter and emerge as King George, anointed by the Christian Right and ostensibly crowned by God Himself.

Bush and company have proven themselves to be political wizards – certainly the most skilled electoral strategists in recent memory. Yet much of their power rests on a word that many Americans have found odious as of late: values. Given campaign rhetoric, it is only natural for many progressives, both conservative and liberal alike, to see this as shorthand for "fundamentalist Christian values." There is little doubt that Republicans rode to victory in key states on the coat tails of such issues as gay marriage, stem-cell research, and abortion. But with the short-term objective of victory in hand, Mr. Bush must not let morality hijack the new conservative movement.

The new conservative, the Goldwater conservative, is not as concerned with morality as he is with freedom. *Freedom* is a simple theme that even children can understand and one that is applicable to all branches of policy.

**-Political freedom** entails safeguarding the autonomy of the individual by defending the rights of states in the face of an ever-expanding federal bureaucracy.

**-Economic freedom** entails creating incentives for long-term growth and pursuing fiscal responsibility that will remove the financial burden from the shoulders of our children.

**-Social freedom** entails protecting the *rights* of the individual and demanding individual *responsibility* for

one's actions.

**-A foreign policy of freedom** entails the liberation of enslaved and terrorized peoples around the globe.

In four sentences, we have outlined a cogent and comprehensive program that could be used to unite Americans behind our St. George – if he'd care to recall the roots of his movement.

Decades of moderation have served only

to blur the line between parties and principles. We need extremism – not in religious zeal, but in commitment to Patrick Henry's rallying cry of "Give me liberty or give me death!" We require a leader who is not afraid to overhaul archaic and overbearing tax codes, retool a Social Security program that is on a path towards self-destruction, and rebuild a public school system that has, for lack of a better term, failed. He must encourage private enterprise to facilitate general prosperity and he must confront evil tyrants who wish to subjugate their people and intimidate the international community. But this agenda cannot be had at the price of being held hostage by the Religious Right on issues of "morality."

This is not to say that religion has no place in a leader's *conviction*. Saints always fight on the basis of faith, but their swords are sharpened by reason and justice. The force of their blows comes from Hayek and Locke, not Matthew and James. The impotent scepters of Kings, on the other hand, are only empowered by a false belief in divine mandate.

President Bush will choose the direction of his administration – and that of the nation's ideological temperament – in the coming months. In four more years, we will either look back upon a reviled King George who will have completely squandered a half-century of conservative momentum, or a celebrated St. George who will have reinvented the very framework of core American dogma. He would be wise to heed Senator Goldwater's veiled warning to a crowd of great Republican thinkers and statesmen. The politics of moderation have failed us; we cannot let the politics of morality interfere with a revolution of freedom.

Jason Davis, Editor-in-Chief





**Extensive interdisciplinary research and teaching programs**

**Extensive grant and fellowship opportunities**

**Working paper series**

**More than 500 public lectures, conferences, and other events annually**

**Community outreach programs**

**Summer institutes for educators**

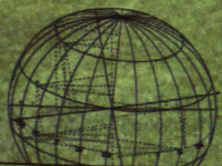
**More than 50 visiting scholars each year**

**Academic exchange programs**

**The Fox International Fellowship Program**

**Six undergraduate majors: African Studies; East Asian Studies; Ethnicity, Race, and Migration Studies; International Studies; Latin American Studies; and Russian and East European Studies**

**Four graduate programs: African Studies; East Asian Studies; International Relations; and Russian and East European Studies**



**[www.yale.edu/ycias](http://www.yale.edu/ycias)**

**YALE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES**

**Henry R. Luce Hall, 34 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut**

**203.432.3410**





# Turley Publications, Inc.

PROUD TO BE OF SERVICE  
TO THE  
YALE COMMUNITY

- Electronic Pre-Press
- Newspapers
- High Quality Sheetfed Publications
- Bindery & Mailing Services

---

UNMATCHED CUSTOMER SERVICE

---

Call Peter Howard

800.824.6548

24 Water Street, Palmer, MA 01069